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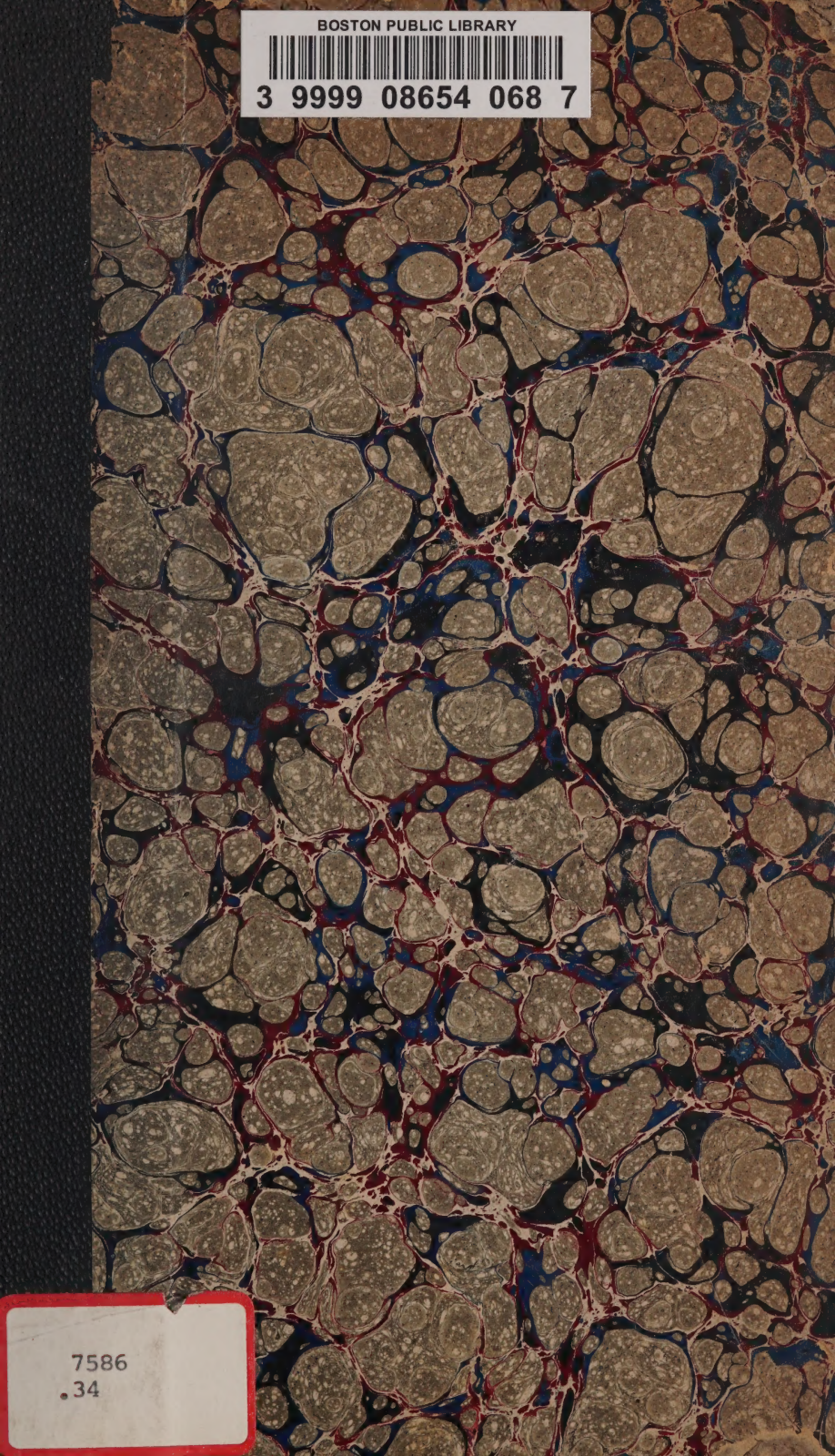

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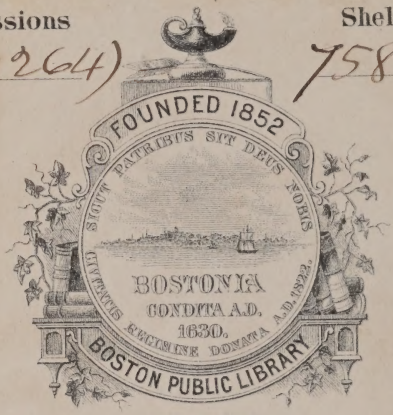

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ADDRESS

OF THE

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COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY A PUBLIC MEETING,

HELD AT

Faneuil Hall, September 24, 1846,

FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONSIDERING THE RECENT CASE OF

KIDNAPPING FROM OUR SOIL,

AND OF TAKING MEASURES TO PREVENT THE RECURRENCE OF

SIMILAR OUTRAGES.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

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Estate of S. E. Sewall

Apr. 29, 1891.

ADDRESS.

Fellow Citizens of the United States:

A shameful outrage upon the sacred rights of Humanity has lately been perpetrated in our borders. It was one of those cases in which the wrong done to one man, puts into danger the rights of thousands of others, and affects principles dear to all. It was a case, which, if passed over in silence, would seem to show that we refuse to grant to others those rights which we would die to maintain for ourselves and our children.

A young man, held in cruel bondage in the State of Louisiana, driven to desperation by his wrongs, and hopeless of the future, resolved, at whatever risk, to flee from his master and take refuge among the freemen of the North. He hid himself in a ship, then ready for sea, and lay down upon the cargo with a little bread and water by his side to make the fearful trial of living, through the weary days and nights of a passage of two thousand miles, in a dark, hot and stifling hold. The brave fellow arrived safely; the ship cast anchor in a port, which, of all others in the world, history would point out as the haven of the oppressed,—the Port of Boston. But the owners of the ship, fearing the laws of Louisiana and the loss of a gainful traffic rather than the laws of Massachusetts and the loss of their good name, determined to send him back to bondage.

But they knew that this would be an offence not only against humanity, but one punishable with the State Prison; and, therefore, they stealthily, and by force, carried away their victim from their ship, before it reached the wharf, and kept him concealed among the islands in Boston harbor. This cruel treatment did not quite discourage him; the dome of the State House, which seemed a temple of liberty—the spires of the churches

where a JUST GOD was worshipped; the very doors of the houses in which freemen lived, were in plain sight, and he hoped that, if he could only reach the city, he should find some brave and good man who would help him in his sore distress. At the first chance, he broke away from his keepers, seized upon a boat, and made for the shore. But his pursuers were close at his heels, and he ran for his life and his liberty. The foot-prints of the flying slave and of his cruel kidnappers are yet fresh upon our soil! They overtook him, seized upon him, accused him to the by-standers of being a fugitive felon; and then it was that the poor fellow, looking eagerly around and seeing none but white faces, concluded there was no freedom for him here, bowed his head in despair, and was led away a slave through the streets of Boston.

The men who were guilty of this crime, had wealth and power, and they found means to hurry their victim on board a ship and send him back to slavery, before the agents of the law would, or the friends of humanity could come to his rescue. As soon as the wicked deed became known, a public meeting was straitway called for, and Fanueil Hall could not hold all the multitude, which gathered together to manifest their indignation at the wrong done to an unfortunate man, and at the shame which had been brought upon the city. That meeting appointed us a Committee of Vigilance, "to take all needed measures to secure the protection of the laws to all persons who may be hereafter in danger of abduction from this Commonwealth." We accepted the trust, because we knew that cases of kidnapping were common in the country; because we heard the voice of human beings crying aloud for help; and conscience, manliness and love, all urged us to do our uttermost in their behalf.

We have already taken some measures for preventing any fugitive slaves from being illegally carried away from Boston, but our sense of duty, our love of our fellow-beings, and our obligations to God, the common father of all men, bid us not to stop here. We therefore call upon our fellow-citizens—upon all the inhabitants of the Free States, to give us their sympathy and aid. Upon you it depends to say whether your soil shall be longer used as a human hunting-ground; upon you it de-

pends to say whether the North shall any longer be a party to human slavery. If there be those among you who have not carefully considered what is their duty in this matter, we beg them to do so, and to decide what stand they will take in future questions about slavery.

The greatest wrong that can be done to an innocent human being is to deprive him of liberty for the selfish ends of others; to treat him like a beast of burden or a senseless thing; to crush all manliness in his heart; to disregard his holiest affections; to stunt his soul by preventing the growth of its highest capacities; in a word, to enslave him for life.

Our common sense and common humanity show this to be a crime, and forbid us to have part or lot in it; the religion of Jesus forbids it, by telling us to do unto others as we would have them do unto us; the laws of the United States forbid it, and declare that whoever commits it on the coast of Africa shall be punished as a pirate. Nevertheless, this wrong is this day done to millions of our fellow-beings, in this our country. We will not judge our brethren of the South; we will not overlook the serious difficulties with which they are surrounded; but we must and do proclaim that we cannot longer be made a party to slavery; that we will not allow our free soil to be polluted by the slave-hunter and by the crimes of kidnapping and enslaving human beings, without doing all that becomes men and Christians to prevent it. We say *crimes*, because, though the highest court in the land may declare such deeds to be legal, the higher Court of Heaven overrules the decision and declares them to be infamous and wicked. What God, speaking through the enlightened consciences of all men, declares to be wrong, not all the tribunals of the earth can make right.

The Slave States of the South urged, perhaps, by what they think is dangerous to the lives and property of their white inhabitants, have passed laws which violate the spirit of the National Compact. They require us to surrender our State jurisdiction upon our own soil, whenever the question of slavery is concerned; they require us to reverse the great principle, that a man is innocent until he is proved to be guilty, and to consider any one among us, whom they may demand as their property, to be a slave, unless he can prove that he is a freeman.

They imprison the free colored citizens of the North who enter their ports, and they thrust out with insult and violence our Ambassadors who go to seek legal, constitutional and peaceable redress. It becomes, then, the Free States of the North, not impelled by a selfish regard to the lives and property of part of their inhabitants, but moved by a sense of duty to God and to their fellow-men, to repel these attempts to make them a party to slavery, and to take measures for the maintenance of the common rights of humanity.

Amongst other measures, we earnestly and solemnly call upon the freemen of the North to obtain for the people security "in their persons against unreasonable seizure," and security of life and liberty to EVERY MEMBER of the HUMAN FAMILY found within their borders, unless the same shall have been forfeited by crime or "*by due process of law.*"

We call upon you to do this, because enlightened nations of Europe and sister nations in America, and even some States of Africa, have set you the example; because it is in accordance with the plainest principles of political right and justice; because you have no more right to deny the benefits of your free institutions to whoever will obey your laws, than you have to monopolize the light of the sun and the air of heaven; because it is a shame and a disgrace that the house of a Christian freeman cannot give as secure an asylum to a fugitive slave as would the tent of a barbarian Arab; because your own consciences and the laws of your State utterly deny and repel the idea of human ownership in human beings, and you violate both in delivering up one man to another who claims him as his property.

If none of these considerations, nor the claims of human brotherhood can move you; if there be those who are content to let the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States* in the case of fugitive slaves pass as the law of the land, we beg them to consider, not how that decision affects the rights of black men alone, but the rights of men of any color.

The Agent of any Slaveholder may this day enter your house, and lay his hands upon your daughter, and carry her off as his

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*Prigg *vs.* State of Pennsylvania, Peters's Reports, 1842.

slave. If you make resistance and raise a tumult, he has only to go before a justice of the peace, or a judge of the United States Court, and swear that she is his slave, and the functionary must give her up to him, *unless you can prove by testimony, satisfactory to the justice, that she is not a slave!* And from this decision there is no appeal! It would be in vain for you to demand a trial by jury, as you could if it were a question about your horse or any dead chattel; it would be in vain to try to shield her by the act of Habeas Corpus; you could save her only by forcibly resisting the law, or as the Roman centurion saved his daughter's honor!

Fellow-citizens! Such outrage and wrong is possible so long as the recent construction of the Constitution respecting fugitive slaves is to be considered as the law of the land. If you do not fear them in case of your own children, will you suffer them to hang over the children of the humblest individual among you, be his color what it may?

For ourselves, we hold that any longer voluntary allegiance to the Union would be sin towards God, and treason to humanity, unless we conscientiously use every effort to effect a speedy change in those political relations, which deny the right of trial by jury in a matter of more than life and death to any member of our community; which enable the slave-hunter to trample upon the Habeas Corpus; which give him our free soil for a hunting-ground, and make us a party to a system of slavery that we abhor.

We furthermore call upon all the inhabitants of the Free States to resolve, as we do, to oppose the election to any political office, of any man who does not stand pledged by his character and actions to strive for the immediate abrogation of all laws and constitutional provisions by which the Free States are involved in the guilt of slavery;

To strive earnestly to obtain the enactment of a law confiscating all ships in which human beings shall be illegally carried from a free State into slavery; of a law placing the crime of kidnapping a man from a Free State in the same grade and punishing it in the same way as man-stealing from the coast of Africa; and of such other laws as may be necessary to secure the blessings of liberty to every man who may choose to live among us;

To give comfort and help to any fugitive slaves who may be thrown upon our hospitality, and to strive to secure for them all the rights and privileges which we claim for ourselves; if a slave-hunter comes among us in the pursuit of a fugitive, not to give him any aid or counsel, but to regard him as the common enemy of mankind, until he shall renounce his evil purpose; to watch him continually, and use every manly and christian effort to prevent him from carrying his victim away into bondage; and to regard with shame and indignation any freeman of the North who may in any way aid or countenance the kidnappers.

Finally, fellow-citizens, being united together, as a committee for the protection of personal rights; our principles contained in the foregoing address;—with the solemn determination to secure to all men, upon our soil, Life and Liberty; we call upon you all to aid and assist us in our work; to devote yourselves to every righteous exertion toward the establishment for all others, of that liberty you so highly prize for yourselves. And for the procurement of the objects at which we aim, we would respectfully and earnestly recommend the early formation of a National League for Freedom, uniting in a permanent organization all who would strive to realize the Ideal of American Liberty.

SAMUEL G. HOWE,
ELLIS GRAY LORING,
CHARLES SUMNER,
J. A. ANDREW,
SAMUEL MAY,
HENRY B. STANTON,
J. B. SMITH,
SAMUEL E. SEWALL,
JOHN G. KING,
JOHN L. EMMONS,
THEODORE PARKER,
RICHARD HILDRETH,
JOHN A. INNIS, (Salem,)
JAMES T. FISHER,
WILLIAM F. WELD,
WILLIAM C. NELL,
ROBERT MORRIS, Jr.,
ANSON J. STONE,
JOSEPH SOUTHWICK,
WALTER CHANNING,
S. S. CURTIS,
BENJAMIN WEEDEN,
A. C. SPOONER,
AMOS B. MERRILL,
CHARLES F. HOVEY,
S. E. BRACKETT,
J. W. BROWNE,
HENRY I. BOWDITCH,
T. T. BOUVE,
JAMES N. BUFFUM, (Lynn,)
GEORGE W. BOND,
WILLIAM F. CHANNING,
JAMES F. CLARKE,
GEORGE DODGE,
HENRY JAMES PRENTISS.

APPENDIX.

This report, with the exception of the speech of Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, was made by a friend, who is an amateur Phonographer.

An immense concourse of people assembled at Faneuil Hall on Thursday evening, Sept. 24, called together by a notice in the papers, to consider the late case of abduction in this city.

At a quarter past seven o'clock, the Committee of Arrangements came in with the Hon. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, and took their stand upon the platform. The venerable gentleman was received with every demonstration of respect, and when he was conducted to the Chair, the hall resounded with plaudits and cheers.

Dr S. G. Howe stepped forward and said that he had been requested by the Committee of Arrangements to call the meeting to order, but it appeared that it would be unnecessary to call for the nomination of a Chairman, as one had already been elected by acclamation.

Mr. Adams then commenced in a very feeble tone of voice, but warming into strength and volume as he proceeded, and said—

Fellow-citizens: It may, perhaps, be somewhat surprising to most of you here present, to see me in this place. But an event has occurred which has brought me here. Forty years ago, I stood, by the suffrages of your fathers and perhaps of your grandfathers, in this same situation. An event has now taken place similar to that which, at that time, brought us together, and I have complied with a request to come from my residence in a neighboring town, to preside over your deliberations upon that important event.

The state of my health, and the feebleness of my voice, will not probably permit one in ten to hear what I may say. This was a great objection in my mind to my coming, and nothing less than the importance and the similarity of circumstances, could have overcome that objection. I recollect the former occasion well: A seaman had been taken out of an American frigate by the crew of a British man-of-war, and a similar meeting was called, not only of the inhabitants of Boston, but of the people of neighboring towns. The venerable Elbridge Gerry, of

whom you have all heard, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was sent for to come from his residence in Cambridge, to preside. He came, and apologizing for his age and infirmities which should have kept him at home, he said that the event was of such a nature that if he had but one day more to live he would have come. On that same principle I now appear before you. The state of my health and my infirmities are such as would have prevented me on any other occasion than this, from leaving my house. What that occasion is, will be explained to you by the gentlemen who called this meeting, and it is not necessary for me to enlarge upon it.

It is a question whether this commonwealth is to maintain its independence as a state or not. It is a question whether your and my native commonwealth is capable of protecting the men who are under its laws, or not.

Fellow-citizens: If my voice were stronger, and I could hope to obtain a hearing, I might enlarge, and urge the people of the state to express, as on a former occasion, a cool, deliberate, and equally firm and intrepid resolution.

It was then voted, that the President should nominate other officers of the meeting, and the following named gentlemen were nominated and elected:

STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS, } *Vice Presidents.*
SAMUEL MAY, }
JOHN ALBION ANDREW, *Secretary.*

DR. HOWE then addressed the meeting as follows:—

I have been requested, Fellow-citizens, as Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements for this meeting, to make a statement of the reasons for calling this meeting, and of the objects which it is proposed to attain; and I shall do so very briefly. A few weeks ago, there sailed from New Orleans a vessel belonging to this port, owned and manned by New England freemen, under the flag of our Union—the flag of the free. When she had been a week upon her voyage, and was beyond the jurisdiction of the laws of Louisiana, far out upon a broad and illimitable ocean, there was found secreted in her hold, a man lying naked upon the cargo, half suffocated by the hot and stifled air, and trembling with fear. He begged the sailors who found him not to betray him to the captain, for he had rather die than be discovered before he got to Boston. Poor fellow! he had heard of Boston; he had heard that there all men are free and equal;—he had seen the word Boston written on that ship, and he had said to himself—"I, too, am a man, and not a brute or a chattel, and if I can only once set my foot in that blessed city, my claims to human brotherhood will be admitted, and I shall be treated as a man and a brother,"—and he hid himself in the hold. Well, Sir, the knowledge of his being there could not long be kept from the captain, and he was dragged from his hot and close hiding-place, and brought upon deck. It was then seen that he was a familiar acquaintance,—a bright intelligent mulatto youth, who used to be sent by his master to sell milk on board; he had been a favorite, and every man, from the captain to the

cabin-boy, used to have his jokes with "Joe." They had treated him like a human being,—could he expect they would ever help to send him into slavery like a brute?

And now what was to be done? Neither the captain nor any of his officers had been privy to his coming on board; they could not be convicted of the crime of wilfully aiding a brother man to escape from bondage; the man was to them as though he had been dropped from the clouds, or been picked up floating on a plank at sea; he was thrown, by the providence of God, upon their charity and humanity!

But it was decided to send him back to New Orleans; to deliver him up to his old owner; and they looked long and eagerly for some ship that would take charge of him. None such, however, was found, and the "Ottoman" arrived safely in our harbor. The wish of the poor slave was gratified; his eyes were blessed with the sight of the promised land. He had been treated well for the most part, on board,—could he doubt that the hearts of his captors had softened? Can we suppose that sailors, so proverbial for their generous nature, could have been, of their own accord, the instruments of sending the poor fellow back? I, for one, will not believe it.

But the captain communicated with his rich and *respectable* owners, men whom he was accustomed to honor and obey, and they decided that whether a human being or not, poor "Joe" must be sent back to bondage; they would not be a party, even against their will, to setting free a slave. (Loud cries of "Shame," "Shame," and "Let us know the name of the owner.") The name of the firm is John H. Pearson & Co. (Repeated cries of "Shame," "Shame," "Shame.") It was a dangerous business, this that they undertook; they did not fear to break the laws of God—to outrage the laws of humanity; but they did fear the laws of the Commonwealth, for those laws threatened the State's Prison to whoever should illegally imprison another. They knew that no person, except the owner of the runaway slave, or his agent, or a marshal of the United States, had any right to touch him; they were neither the one nor the other; and they therefore hid their victim upon an island in our harbor and detained him there.

But he escaped from their clutches; he fled to our city—to the city of his hopes—he was here in our very streets, fellow-citizens! he had gained an Asylum,—he called on us for aid. Of old, there were temples so sacred that even a murderer who had taken refuge in them was free from pursuit; but no such temple did Boston offer to the hunted slave; he was pursued and siezed, and those of our wondering citizens who inquired what it all meant, were deceived by a lie about his being a thief, and he was dragged on board ship.

But the news of this got abroad; legal warrants were at once procured; the shield of the *habeas corpus* was prepared to cover the fugitive; officers of justice were urged to the pursuit; the owner of the vessel was implored to give an order for the man's surrender,—but all in vain. A vessel was found, bound for New Orleans, which would consent to be made a slave-ship of,—(Loud cries for the name of the ship.) The Niagara, belonging to the same owners, and on board of this ship the man

was sent back, to receive the lash, and to wear the shackles, for his ill-starred attempt to be free, and to drag out all the days of his life, a degraded, wretched, and hopeless slave!

And now, fellow-citizens, how does all this differ from piracy and the slave-trade? The man was free—free at sea, free on shore; and it was only by a legal process that he could be arrested. He was siezed in our city; bound and carried into slavery by those who had no more right to do so than has the slave-trader to descend upon the coast of Guinea and carry off the inhabitants. All these facts are known and admitted; nay, they are defended by some who call themselves followers of Him who said, "As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them;" they are defended, too, by some of those presses, whose editors arrogate to themselves the name of Watchmen on the towers of Liberty!

And now it will be asked,—it has been asked, tauntingly,—How can we help ourselves? What can this meeting do about it?

In reply, let me first state what it is *not* proposed to do about it. It is not proposed to move the public mind to any expression of indignation, much less to any acts of violence against the parties connected with the late outrage. As to the captain, it is probable that he was more sinned against than sinning. I am told that he is a kind, good man, in most of the relations of life, and that he was made a tool of. Let him go and sin no more. As for the owners and their abettors—the men who used the wealth and influence which God gave them, to kidnap and enslave a fellow-man,—a poor, trembling, hunted wretch, who had fled to our shores for liberty and sought refuge in our borders—let them go too,—their punishment will be dreadful enough without our adding to it. Indeed, I, for one, can say that I would rather be in the place of the victim whom they are at this moment sending away into bondage,—I would rather be in his place than in theirs: Aye! through the rest of my earthly life, I would rather be a driven slave upon a Louisiana plantation, than roll in their wealth and bear the burden of their guilt; and as for the life to come, if the police of those regions to which bad men go, be not as sleepy as the police of Boston,—then, may the Lord have mercy upon their souls!

But, Mr. Chairman, again it is asked, "What shall we do?" Fellow-citizens, it is not a retrospective but a prospective action which this meeting proposes, and there are many ways in which good may be done, and harm prevented, some of which I hope will be proposed by those who may follow me, and who probably will be more accustomed to such meetings than I am. But first, let me answer some of the objections which have been urged by some of those gentlemen who have been invited to come up here to-night and help us, and have declined to do so. They say, "We must not interfere with the course of the law." Sir, they know as well as we know, that if the law be the edge of the axe, that public opinion is the force that gives strength and weight to the blow.

Sir, we have tried the "let alone system" long enough; we have a right to judge the future by the past, and we know that the *law* will not prevent such outrage in time to come, unless the *officers* of the law are

driven by public opinion to do their duty. What has made the African slave-trade odious? Was it the law, or public opinion?

But, Sir, in order to test the strength of this objection, let us suppose that instead of the poor hunted mulatto, one of the clergymen of Boston had been carried off into slavery. Would the pulpit have been silent? Had one of our editors been carried away, would the press have been dumb? Would there have been any want of glaring capitals and notes of exclamation? Suppose a lawyer had been kidnapped in his office, bound, and carried off to work on a slave plantation; would the limbs of the law have moved so lazily as they did week before last? Or suppose a merchant had been torn from his counting-room in State street, and shipped for the slave-market of Tunis; would there not have been an excitement all over the city? Think you there would not have been "Indignation meetings" on "Change?"

And yet, Sir, are any of these men more precious in the sight of God than the poor mulatto? Or suppose a slave ship from the coast of Guinea, with her human cargo on board, had been driven by stress of weather into our port, and one of her victims had escaped to our shore, and been recaptured and carried off in the face of the whole community; would there have been any want of "indignation" then? And, Sir, is there any difference, would it be a greater crime to carry such an one away, except that as this man had been once a slave, he might be made a slave again,—that is, that two wrongs might make a right.

No, Mr. Chairman, these are not the true reasons. It is, Sir, that the "peculiar institution," which has so long been brooding over this country like an incubus, has at last spread abroad her murky wings, and has covered us with her benumbing shadow. It has silenced the pulpit; it has muffled the press; its influence is everywhere. Court street, that can find a flaw in every indictment, and can cunningly devise ways to save the murderer from the gallows—Court street can find no way of escape for the poor slave; State street, that drank the blood of the martyrs of liberty,—State street is deaf to the cry of the oppressed slave: the port of Boston, that has been shut up by a tyrant king as the dangerous haunt of freemen,—the port of Boston has been opened for the slave-trader; for God's sake, Mr. Chairman, let us keep Faneuil Hall free. Let there be words of such potency spoken here this night as shall break the spell that is upon the community. Let us devise such means and measures as shall secure to every man who seeks refuge in our borders, all the liberties and all the rights which the law allows him.

Let us resolve that even if the slave-hunter comes to this city to seek his runaway victim, we will not lay our hands upon him, but we will fasten our eyes upon him, and will never take them off till he leaves our borders without his prey. Sir, there is a potency, a magic power, in the gaze of honest indignation. I am told that one of the parties of the late outrage—one of the owners of the "Ottoman," came up here to this temple of liberty the other night to hear Mr. John P. Hale talk about slavery. He was discovered and pointed out. And, Mr. Chairman, what was done to him? Why, Sir, he was fairly *looked* out of this Hall. No one touched him; but he could not stand the look of indignation, and he fled away. Sir, this beats the hunters of the West;—

they boast that they can "grin the varmint off the trees," but they cannot look a slave-hunter out of countenance, as the freemen of the East can.

I say, Sir, if ever the slave-hunter come among us in pursuit of his victim, let us not harm a hair of his head—"let us touch not the hem of his garment; but let him be a *Pariah* among us," and cursed be he who gives him aid, who gives him food, or fire, or bed, or anything save that which drove his friend and coadjutor from Faneuil Hall the other night.

Dr. Howe was frequently interrupted by loud and repeated bursts of enthusiastic applause. After concluing his remarks, the following Resolutions were presented by JOHN A. ANDREW:—

Resolved, That the first duty of all government is to guarantee the personal safety of every individual upon its soil; and that the removal, by fraud or force, of any person, beyond the jurisdiction of the laws, especially with the purpose of preventing inquiry into the rights of such person, by the competent tribunals, is an insult to the dignity of the sovereign power, and a violation, as well of the rights of the government, as of the immediate victim of the outrage.

Resolved, That we recognize nothing in the institutions or laws of any foreign State or Nation which can justify or excuse any violation of the smallest right or privilege of the humblest individual within the borders of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; and that whatever may be the requisitions of foreign governments upon persons found within the reach of their legal process, here, at least, shall the equal laws of our venerable Commonwealth be respected as supreme and inviolable.

Resolved, That the spirit of justice and freedom will be dead amongst us, when an injury done to the least individual, shall cease to be felt as a wrong to the whole community.

Resolved, That the late seizing and abducting into slavery, without any pretence of legal authority, of a *man* found in the exercise of his freedom in the streets of the city of Boston, should be felt as an alarming menace against the personal rights and safety of every citizen.

Resolved, That every person, who by active or tacit co-operation has aided or abetted in kidnapping the individual and carrying him into slavery, deserves the stern reprobation of a community which has solemnly branded the slave trade as equivalent to piracy.

Resolved, That we call on the owners of the bark Niagara, who have been charged in the public prints, by Captain Hannum, the immediate abductor of the individual in question, with having aided in and consented to this illegal and shameful act, publicly to disavow all participation in a proceeding so fatal to their character as merchants and as men, or to make all the reparation in their power, by rescuing the individual sufferer from the tortures to which their ship has illegally borne him back, at whatever expense of money and effort to themselves.

Resolved, That this meeting recommend the formation of a Committee of Vigilance, whose duty it shall be to take all needed measures to secure the protection of the laws to all persons who may hereafter be in danger of abduction from this Commonwealth.

MR. SUMNER being now loudly called by general acclamation, came forward and said,—

Mr. Chairman, and Fellow-citizens, I have been drawn here to-night simply as a spectator, to bear my testimony, by a silent vote, to the resolutions that shall be adopted on this occasion; and consequently I am not prepared to say anything except what comes from a heart overflowing in the cause of humanity. I am proud to be in Faneuil Hall on

this occasion, and to address *you*, Mr. President. I reverence you as one of the leaders in the cause of liberty. I listened with satisfaction to your statement from the chair to-night, that forty years ago in this very hall, you appeared as a defender of liberty. A seaman was kidnapped from an American frigate by an English frigate. The English frigate Leopard, in 1806, carried away an American seaman from the Chesapeake.

It was on that occasion that you, Mr. President took the lead. It was then against the power of England that the indignation of this people was roused. Now it is not against the power of England, and I am glad that it is not, but it is another power—not foreign, but domestic—not of any nation beyond our borders, but a power that is within our own country—the power of Slavery. It is that Institution in our own country, which has invaded the soil of Massachusetts,—it is that Institution which has done to Massachusetts what the power of England did to the frigate Chesapeake. It has taken a man from our jurisdiction.

It is, then, right for us to come up to Faneuil Hall, to see what shall be done in order to protect all who are beneath our jurisdiction, against such outrages in future.

I listened to the remarks of my friend who opened this meeting, with great satisfaction, believing his course to be the true one. I would not harm a hair of the head of that captain who has carried back to slavery a fugitive slave. The captain of the "Ottoman," it has been said, is in other respects an amiable man—a man of good character. And I fear that he has erred in this matter by yielding to the temptation of circumstances which have been too strong for him. And let this urge us to direct our opposition more strongly against that institution which puts such temptations in the way of our citizens. We are told that the poor African has been returned to slavery. And it may be asked, "Had the master of the vessel any legal right to do so?" I answer, No! In the whole transaction he was a volunteer—a volunteer against law and against humanity. There is no law of the United States, no regulation in the Constitution, rendering it necessary for a person under such circumstances, without authority from the master, to return a fugitive to bondage. I say then that the captain was a volunteer—he violated the laws of Massachusetts in the cause of Slavery.

And now, Mr. Chairman, what is the duty of Massachusetts? If I remember, it was said by an ancient sage, that Government is the best where an injury to the humblest individual is resented as an injury to the whole commonwealth. And that poor unfortunate, who has been pictured to you to-night, when he touched the soil of Massachusetts was as much entitled to the protection of its laws as any one of you, fellow-citizens, as much as you, Mr. President, covered with honors as you are.

Some twenty years ago, in the state of New York, an individual, not a colored person, was kidnapped, carried away, and killed. That outrage caused an immense excitement in the part of the country in which it took place. The excitement spread from New York to Massachusetts, and finally enveloped all New England in its rage. The abduction of William Morgan—of that single individual, by the Free Masons

of his own state, roused the Northern States and raised a party which exercised an important influence upon the politics of this country.

Now an individual has been stolen—we do know that he has been carried away into slavery, though we do not know that he has been slain—but he has been carried back to suffer all the wrongs which slavery can inflict. That outrage should rouse the citizens of Massachusetts and the Northern states to call for the abolition of that Institution which has caused it.

Mr. President, I feel that I can say nothing upon this question to add to the eloquence of your presence in this Hall, and I therefore content myself with seconding the resolutions which have been introduced.

A call was then made for "Phillips," "Phillips," and Mr. Stephen C. Phillips was advancing, when several voices called for "Wendell Phillips," and the former gentleman retired. Upon a renewal of the calls, however, he stepped forward and said:—

It is true, Mr. President, as has been beautifully remarked by the friend (Mr. Sumner) who preceded me—that the eloquence most appropriate to this occasion, is *the eloquence of your* presence!—of the place of meeting, where we seem even now to listen to the returning echo of the accents of former days—and of the unsurpassed and expressive spectacle before us. In sympathy with the noble purpose by which you, sir, have been actuated, thousands of your fellow-citizens have met you here to-night, proud to share the honor of emulating your example. If you can deem it an act worthy of the last hour of your illustrious life, to give the sanction of your presence to the object of this meeting, well may we rally to your support, receive your counsels, and carry them into effect.

The object of the meeting must touch the hearts of all who have listened to the sad story which the Chairman of the Committee (Dr. Howe) has related. It is difficult to believe it to be true. The scene is laid in Boston, and it refers to an act of inhumanity, which it is difficult to imagine should have been attempted here. The parties to the transaction are our fellow-citizens, and the offence charged upon them seems to be the last, which could have been committed by a Boston shipmaster and a Boston merchant. The sufferer is a poor, helpless, homeless fellow-being, who committed an error in supposing that *a slave would be free in Massachusetts, and might be sure of Christian treatment in Boston.*

The unfortunate sufferer was a negro slave. He sighed for liberty, and who condemns the impulse of his nature? Conscious that he was a man, he felt himself entitled to the rights of a man, and resolved that he would make a hazardous effort to obtain them; and who blames him that he should conceive and execute such a purpose? I learn that some whose opinions are respected, express the opinion that he should have voluntarily remained a slave; that it was his only duty to "obey his master," to hug his chains, to bare his back to the lash, to extinguish the desire for a change of condition, to cease to regard human rights as any thing for him; and that because he aspired to a better fate, he should not be an object of our sympathy, and that humanity and christianity

do not plead in his behalf. Repulsive, heart-chilling, unavoidably insincere as is this suggestion, let whoever utters it consult his conscience, or "behold in a mirror," the man who will tell him what he thinks of it—it is the only pretext whereby the conclusion can be resisted, that the escape of a slave from slavery is, in itself, an act to be approved, the exercise of an indisputable right, and, under suitable circumstances, the discharge of a manifest duty. I care not, Mr. President, from what source, however respectable, this suggestion may proceed; but before you, and in Faneuil Hall, I am compelled to assert, that a slave, presenting himself here, and claiming to be a freeman, would deserve to meet, as he would be sure to meet, the sympathy and admiration of every true man amongst us. The free citizens of the slave-holding States, may take a different view of their relation to their slaves; but we of Massachusetts owe it to our known political and religious principles—and the slave-holding States should be so advised—to consider the slaves, *equal with the masters*, as our *countrymen*, as our *fellow-beings*, and as entitled *amongst us* to all the rights and privileges of any other countrymen, or any other fellow-beings. Some may scruple to sanction this declaration; but I make it unhesitatingly, and I came here, to-night, as far as this case will allow me, *to act upon it*. It is a declaration in conformity to the Bill of Rights, the laws and the judicial decisions of Massachusetts; and never as a citizen, as a Christian, or as a man, shall I be prevailed upon to abjure it.

The sufferer was a slave from no other part of the world than *our own country*. This is the fatal fact which has caused the guilt and the disgrace of the criminal acts in which our fellow-citizens have participated. Had he been a slave from Cuba or Brazil, had he been a serf from Russia, had he been a fugitive from the oppression not yet extirpated from British India, had he been a human being presenting himself in any other character than that of *an American slave*, the sailor's heart would have warmed towards him upon the passage, the merchant's purse would have been open to him upon his landing, the voice of welcome and the hand of relief would have met him every where in our streets, and Boston would have proved to him a Christian city. In one word, had he been *a slave, and not our countryman*, he would have been treated as well as if he were *our countryman, but not a slave*. This shows us, Mr. President, what American slavery has "done for us," in one of its effects upon our principles, our character, and our conduct. The "suffering man" from the "farthest pole" may become or be deemed "our neighbor," and be treated as such; but as for *the slave*, who is "near home"—our very *countryman*—he must learn, and the Christian world must learn from his fate, that *our patriotism* forbids us to have any humanity or Christianity, and that our laws are but a mockery, *for him*. Except so far as the proceedings of this meeting shall forbid such a construction, Boston, with all her pride and fame, must expect, and must be understood, of her own choice, to consent to be thus judged and condemned for her direct and potential support of American slavery.

The sufferer in this case is *a negro*. I know full well the force of the antipathy to which, on board ship and on shore, this fact has subjected him. Could he have been a white man, although a slave, his fate might

have been different. But it is hard for us to do the negro justice. I feel the severity of the rebuke that it scarcely becomes us to complain that negroes are enslaved at the South, until they shall be treated more like freemen at the North. I understand the difficulties arising from prejudice which resist all efforts to ameliorate their condition here. I have felt the difficulty of eradicating this prejudice. I am aware how hard it is to reconcile any physiological theory, however demonstrable, which disproves the original distinction of races, to our desire and determination to regard the negro as essentially inferior to the white man. Be this as it may, still the conclusion is irresistible—the judgement, the heart, the conscience, all sustain it—that negroes are, as much as any of us, *men*—physically, intellectually, and morally, men—that their degradation may be the result of unnatural rather than natural laws—and that since the Providence of God has placed them amongst us, we are responsible to God if we fail to extend to them the benefit of our political and social institutions, and to exert all the humane and Christian influences, which can promote the improvement of the individual, and the advancement of the race. The negro, let him have been freeman or slave, be he neighbor or be he stranger,—so long as he is amongst us, is entitled to all the rights and privileges of any white citizen;—and, as Republicans, we belie the principles of our government, and fail to maintain the Constitution and laws, if we suffer the protection, which is afforded to others, to be withheld from him.

We meet, then, to consider our duty in the clear case of illegal, inhuman, and unchristian treatment, to which this American slave and negro has been subjected. By fraud and force he has been abducted from the streets of Boston, and he is already far beyond the reach of our sympathy, where neither our wishes nor our efforts can afford him any relief. Under the charge of the second Boston shipmaster, who has made himself an accomplice in the crime, he is on his way back to New Orleans, to meet the fate which there awaits the runaway slave. We may imagine the heavy heart, the disappointed hopes, the bitter grief with which he turned his last look on Boston, as he felt that all which Boston had done for him was to enforce the laws of Louisiana rather than those of Massachusetts; and that what his Louisiana owner dare not have attempted, and could not have accomplished through any agent known to be such, a Boston merchant and Boston shipmasters had volunteered, illegally and clandestinely, to accomplish in his behalf. Such, truly, Mr. President, is the revolting aspect of the facts of the case, and deep is the disgrace which must over-shadow the fair fame of Boston, so far as the mass of her citizens shall not promptly avow their abhorrence of this outrage, and adopt effectual measures to prevent its recurrence.

I find it difficult to refer to the conduct of Capt. HANNUM in terms of modified censure. What can have induced, or who can have advised him to write the letter which we have read in the newspapers, I am at a loss to conjecture. A more disgraceful exposure of bad motives, and of the consciousness of guilt, was never coupled with the attempt to justify misconduct. I could pity Captain Hannum from the bottom of my heart, if his letter did not compel me to indulge and to avow still another sentiment. He admits that he sacrificed *his private principles and the*

feelings of humanity; and because he makes such an admission, and manifests no compunction for it, I shrink not from assuring him that such *unprincipled* and *inhuman* conduct is viewed in its proper light by the insulted community before whom he seeks to justify it. If he has been heretofore respectable, free from reproach in the relations of life, a sailor with an open heart and an open hand, I do not fail to see that he has aggravated his offence by resisting all the influences, and stifling all the impulses, which must have dissuaded him from it.

That I may expose what it is manifest was the motive which influenced Capt. HANNUM in this transaction, let me say that I doubt not that he deserved his previous reputation. I dare say, that in all ordinary trials, he might have proved himself a just, generous, and disinterested man. Had the poor negro, who sought protection in the hold of his vessel, have approached him upon a plank on the ocean in the height of a storm, I dare say the Captain would have sprung spontaneously to his relief, and, at any hazard to his own life, would have saved the life of the negro, and would have bestowed upon him all the care which his necessities required. To have done less than this, under such circumstances, would not satisfy the law of the sailor's nature, and the Captain, who, in the presence of his crew, should refrain from doing thus much, would cease to be respected, or trusted, or obeyed. I dare say that Capt. Hannum might have proved himself capable of performing any of the ordinary virtues, which are demanded by public sentiment, and involve no pecuniary sacrifice; but he could not abide a trial, which required the performance of a duty *involving such a sacrifice*—plain enough to his conscience when he thought he might escape from it without a loss of money, or a loss of reputation. With all his Yankee shrewdness, and even if he has employed others to make the calculation for him, he has sadly deceived himself, or been deceived, as to the result; he may have saved his money for a time—he has lost his reputation forever. The poor negro, as he was brought upon deck into the Captain's presence, could feel his life to be as safe as if he had been rescued from the ocean; it was his *liberty* that was in danger, and that was only in danger because the Captain could not secure him his liberty—or rather could not desist from depriving him of it—without a pecuniary sacrifice, which, for the sake of a negro's liberty, he was not willing to incur. Nay, so little did he value a negro's liberty, and so little did he regard legal or moral responsibility, when it might *cost him something* to refrain from violating law and justice, his private principles and the feelings of humanity *in behalf of a negro slave*, that he recklessly spurned them all, in open day committed an offence, which, if he shall be convicted of it, must immure him in the State Prison; and he now stands before the community, to be "looked at," and remembered, as he deserves.

Mr. President, the pirate who, stimulated by cupidity, roams the ocean in quest of plunder, and destroys countless lives in the accomplishment or concealment of his object, and the African slave-trader, who, for the sake of gain, subjects his victims, by hundreds and by thousands, to the horrors of "the middle passage," and the cruel bondage which succeeds it, are guilty of no other moral offence than that of sacrificing to the insatiable demands of such a motive, their "private principles and the

feelings of humanity;" and Capt. Hannum, while he differs from them in restricting himself within what he supposed to be the pale of public endurance, describes the nature of his offence in the very terms, which are sufficient to characterize their detestable misdeeds.

I am aware that I am called upon by Capt. Hannum to excuse or palliate his offence upon the ground that he acted by the authority, and under the instructions of his owners. He was, however, their voluntary agent; and it does not appear from the tone of his letter that he felt or expressed any scruple in executing their wishes, or that he did any act to relieve himself from the full measure of the responsibility to which I have held him. Still I perceive, upon his statement, that his owners voluntarily and gratuitously assumed a still higher responsibility—that is to say, as I estimate their responsibility, in reference to the higher position which they occupy, and the greater influence which their example must exert. They are Boston merchants; and, *as such*, while the unfortunate shipmaster may be unnoticed and forgotten, they must remain the conspicuous objects of public attention; and it should be expected of them, in a transaction like that under consideration, to maintain unsullied their own honor, and not to hazard the reputation of the class with which they are associated.

Mr. President, I approach this part of the case with peculiar sensibility; for I am a merchant. I know that the occupation of a merchant need not be otherwise than an useful and honorable one, and that it has been honored by the character and conduct of most of those who have engaged in it. I know that the mercantile character is often assailed by unfounded prejudices, by mean and petty jealousies, and by gross calumnies; and the fault is not mine of having been backward to vindicate it. I know also that the character of the merchant is not always unsullied, and that cases will occur in which it is important to cause it to appear that the censurable acts of individuals are not justified or extenuated by the body at large. What, so far as it affects the owners, is the present case, as we are obliged to regard it upon the representation of Capt. Hannum?

He represents to his owners that he finds on board his vessel a fugitive slave, and asks what he shall do with him. The owners of the vessel have no authority to act for the owner of the slave; they have accordingly no more right to exercise any forcible control over that colored man, than any of us have over any colored man; or any man whom we meet in the streets. The man, under the law of Massachusetts, as soon as he is within its jurisdiction, is free, because here "all men are free and equal;" and under the severest construction of the constitution and laws of the United States, he is free until his owner claims him. Except restrained by violence, *illegal violence*, he will of course at once assert his liberty, and, as soon as his feet touch the soil of Boston, if not safe at once, under the protection of public opinion, he may soon place himself beyond the danger of pursuit. All this is well understood by Capt. Hannum and his owners. They understand that if the slave is forcibly detained, it can only be done in violation of the law of Massachusetts, and in defiance of the public sentiment of Boston; and that, under the circumstances, they make themselves as much responsible, le-

gally and morally, for reducing him to slavery, as if they had kidnapped one of our native colored citizens, and by a similar act of violence had confined him on board their vessel, and sent him to New Orleans to be delivered to a slave-dealer. If the case had thus terminated with the confinement of the negro on board the vessel, and all the proceedings of the master had been sustained and authorized by the owners, the legal crime and the moral offence, in all their flagrancy, would clearly have been committed, and the owners would have been responsible; but it is necessary to state that the subsequent incidents, all which must be supposed to have occurred with their knowledge and sanction, greatly aggravate their guilt.

The poor negro is not retained on board the vessel; but before the vessel is brought to the wharf, he is sent, under the charge of keepers, to an island in the harbor, with the purpose of confining him there, until another vessel shall be ready to receive and transport him to New Orleans. All this is done illegally; it is, in the view of the law, and in its moral aspect, a crime; and the owners of the vessel sanction and authorize it. Fortunately, the poor negro succeeds in escaping from his keepers, and, quitting the island, he reaches the main shore, and presents himself, a stranger and a freeman, in the streets of Boston. Could he have had time to make himself known, to implore the aid of the city police, to lay his case before a magistrate, the owners or their agents would not have dared to touch a hair of his head, and in shame, as well as fear, they would have shrunk from the prosecution of their design. But unfortunately—most unfortunately—the captain was upon his track, and representing him to the few by-standers, who were collected at the instant, as one of his crew whom he was apprehending as a thief, he succeeded in diverting their sympathies, in once more seizing his victim, in hurrying him on board a boat, and, by keeping the boat at sea, in cutting off any other chance of escape, while at the same time the negro was removed beyond the reach of any assistance from the shore. This act made the captain for the second time a kidnapper, in the full meaning of the law, and in all the enormity of the crime; and his guilt, by their justification of the act, the owners have voluntarily undertaken to share with him.

Whether or not the captain incurred any further responsibility, I do not distinctly understand; but what strikes me as by far the most culpable conduct of the owners remains to be exposed. Sufficient time had now elapsed to dispel the secrecy in which the foul transaction had been involved; it had become known that an attempt was thus in progress to deprive a man of his legal rights, and all the facts of the case were rapidly ascertained; the popular sympathy was deeply excited; the proper spirit of Boston was exhibited; and, as should have been done, the first attempt for the relief of the sufferer was an application to the highest legal tribunal for a writ of *habeas corpus* to release him from the illegal custody in which he was detained *by the direction of the owner.* The aid of the law was promptly afforded; an officer was charged with the execution of the process; *it was in the power of the owners to suffer the law to take effect; without their interference to prevent it, the law would have taken effect, and have rescued the negro from his captivity;*

and they took it upon themselves to obstruct the execution of the law, to deprive a fellow being of the privilege of habeas corpus, to set the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth at defiance, to contemn public opinion, and to glory in the shame of succeeding in so base a design. The poor negro was kept on board his floating prison until these owners could despatch another ship, which they were loading for New Orleans; a steamboat was employed to tow the ship against a head wind beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and while the officer of justice is almost succeeding in his last attempt to overtake the boat, from which he might rescue the negro, the agents of the perpetrators of injustice are thrusting him on board the ship, whose private signal declares to Boston, and will soon declare to New Orleans, who are the owners that thus prefer to sacrifice their character in Boston, rather than to endanger their interests in New Orleans.

Mr. President, I know that I cannot be under the slightest possible influence of ill will against the owners to whom I have thus referred. So far as I know them personally, I have no reason to think or speak unfavorably of them; so far as I have had slight transactions in business with them, I have found them accommodating, liberal, and honorable. Let them have the full benefit of the reputation they have acquired; but let them not expect—let none venture to claim in their behalf, that when, for the sake of mercantile gains, or a mercantile standing abroad, (or from the influence of any motive which can be conjectured,) they have thought nothing of what was due to their character at home, and have not scrupled (through the authorized acts of their agents) to violate the laws, to evade and obstruct the execution of legal processes, to make themselves instrumental in depriving a human being of the liberty to which he had become entitled, and to scoff at the feelings and efforts of such as had compassion on him; that they have enough of reputation left to shield them from the consequences of such glaring misconduct. Let them not suppose that they can be irresponsible to public opinion, or that they can hold up their heads as before, without meeting in the countenance of every honest man an expression of the sentiments of aversion and disgust, which their proceedings must have excited. Let them be made to feel—if a virtuous self-respect has wrought this result in the community—that they stand alone in the low estimate which they place upon the *public duty* of Boston merchants and citizens of Massachusetts, when the claims of humanity are brought into competition with their private interests.

I abstain from any farther consideration of the details of this unfortunate transaction, and I have said what my duty seems to require of the parties principally concerned in it. I do not desire to wreak upon them any public or private vengeance and I am happy to perceive that such is not the purpose of this meeting. Let them be saved from the State Prison; let them remain unharmed in the positions which they occupy; let them be treated only, as, in the moral judgment of the community, they deserve; but let not the memory of the transactions be obliterated, until it shall cease to be useful as an effectual warning to others.

I cannot and ought not to conclude, without adverting once more as every one must do, in his thoughts upon the subject, to the *primary cause*

of the wrongs which have been suffered in this case. We shall not have learned the lesson which the case seems to have been designed to inculcate, unless it fixes our attention anew upon *our exposure to the evils of* SLAVERY, *and our responsibility for their continuance.* Our commercial intercourse with the ports of the slave-holding States is now clogged by regulations, which make it almost impossible for those who continue in the trade, to exonerate themselves from an actual, a direct, a constant participation in the support of slavery. The captain and the merchants implicated in the present case, if they had not felt that their business depended upon it, would have had no desire to retain and return the slave; but they saw that it was for their interest to signalize their devotion to the interests of the slave owner, and, with this view, they were scrupulously considerate of the laws of Louisiana, while they sought to evade, and dared openly to resist, the laws of Massachusetts.

The fact is but too plain, that, unless Northern shipmasters and merchants will connive at and will assist in executing all the harsh and hateful measures which are prescribed for preventing the escape of slaves, and for arresting and returning fugitives, and will tacitly submit to the still more odious regulations by which our own free colored citizens, without any imputation or suspicion of crime, are violently abducted from our vessels, thrown into prison, and *some of them in the end actually sold as slaves*, slavery will be scarcely able to sustain itself in any of the Southern seaports. In view of this state of things, I can see much good, mixed with evil, in the results of the case before us. It will open the eyes of the people of Massachusetts to the danger and the guilt of a silent and passive co-operation with such of her citizens as are practically committed to the support of slavery. It will arouse the public conscience, and insure the vigorous action of public opinion upon every occurrence which involves the sacrifice of human liberty. It will make it certain that no shipmaster, no merchant, no citizen of Massachusetts, will hereafter venture, in the support of slavery, to disregard and violate the laws of *his own State.* Occurring, too, in connection with the political and religious proceedings, which are rapidly converging to the same general issue, it will help to make it manifest that OPPOSITION TO SLAVERY is henceforth to be regarded as a political and religious duty, no longer to be questioned, no longer to be shunned, no longer to be postponed, but a duty to be at once faithfully, deliberately, and resolutely performed.

Let us congratulate ourselves, Mr. President and fellow citizens, that the sentiment of opposition to slavery is so deeply rooted in the hearts of the people of Massachusetts. With us, indeed, it is an hereditary sentiment, which has descended to us as the heirs of the love of liberty of the Puritans, and of the uncorrupted patriotism of the sages of the revolution. Taught in our schools, and sanctioned in our churches, it is identified with our moral and religious principles. Thus instinct with spiritual life, no party influence, no combination of interests, no apprehension of consequences, can prove sufficient to extinguish it; and it becomes all whom it concerns to heed the assurance that while *Plymouth Rock* stands or a voice can be heard in *Faneuil Hall*, MASSACHUSETTS WILL MAINTAIN AND AVOW THIS SENTIMENT.

In accordance with the demands of the assembly, the audience were next addressed by WENDELL PHILLIPS, who said,

I can say with truth, that it is with reluctance that I come upon this platform this evening. With reluctance, interested as I am in the subject which calls you to Faneuil Hall. For much as I admire, and deeply as I respect the principles of the gentlemen who have occupied the platform before me this evening, and who have presented to this meeting the resolutions which have been read from it, I acknowledge, Mr. Chairman, that those resolutions do not, in my opinion, come up to the tone, which should be heard from Faneuil Hall on this occasion. And it was, Sir, with a reluctance to obtrude my own views and differences of opinion upon men who deserve the enthusiastic admiration of this community, and who have the confidence of it upon this subject and upon others, that I came upon the platform to-night. Sir, if I understood those resolutions, they went to this extent — that we would exert every nerve to secure to the slave, who had once set his foot upon the soil of Massachusetts, all the rights which *the laws* secure to him. Sir, I go further than that. Deeply as I detest the man who said that he sacrificed his "feelings of humanity and his principles to the laws of Louisiana," what shall I say of the man, who, knowing that that slave, by the fact of a common humanity, had a right to demand of us, not only that we should *out-look* the countenance of the slave-owner, but that we should drive him indignantly from the soil of Massachusetts—shall yield "humanity, feelings, and principles" to the laws of *Massachusetts?*

Mr. Chairman, I wish to say one word on what I think will be found to be the practical result of the law in this case, in the city of Boston. I do not share in the confidence with which people appeal to the anti-slavery feeling of Massachusetts; I have labored some years in the cause of Anti-Slavery here, and I know how little of depth or truth there is in the anti-slavery professions that we hear from the community around us. We are called upon, in the emphatic words of one of my predecessors, "to do and not to say." Sir, if the anti-slavery sentiment of Massachusetts had been what we sometimes flatter ourselves that it is, who would have dared, upon the soil of this state, so to have outraged the laws of Massachusetts?

Mr. President, does any man deny that if Capt. Hannum had had in his pocket a piece of paper signed by the master of that slave, all the men of Massachusetts could not have hindered him from carrying the slave back according to law? I believe that that is the law of the United States. If Capt. Hannum had had one written line from the master of the slave, he would have been justified. And I presume to doubt, notwithstanding the assurance of gentlemen, I presume to doubt, whether, if Capt. Hannum shall place himself within the reach of the law, there is any law of Massachusetts, or any law of the United States, which will reach his case, or if the sober second thought of the public opinion will not give him a verdict.

Why do I make these statements here, which may seem to embarrass the meeting? Because I think this is the occasion to awaken the people to the knowledge of the full strength of the mighty social evil in which

they live, and point out to them not only the abuses to which it may be subject, but the contempt and inefficiency to which it reduces the law; and then say to them, Are these the laws and institutions by which you will, under all circumstances, be bound? I demand that they trample on such laws. I know many will differ from me in this—men whose intellects I respect—yet I know I am right—I feel with James Madison, that "there are times when the heart is the best logician." When outrages like these are perpetrated, then is the God-given opportunity to awaken Massachusetts in regard to the whole subject of Slavery and its laws. At such times the community is aroused and will listen. In the light of such outrages on justice and humanity, and such contempt of all law, they understand and can appreciate the nature of the slave power. A single such fact is worth a hundred arguments. Not to push the general question *now*, is to throw away our opportunities. I want this meeting to say something more than that it will *look* the slave-hunter out of Massachusetts. When in James Otis's time, the writs of assistance were given, and when afterward the King's officers landed, the people did not wait to *look* the soldiers out of the city. Sir, if I read that history aright, on a certain day in the month of July, 1776, there rolled out on the still summer air, something like the following:—"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to *dissolve the political bands* which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them," &c. In my opinion, *now* is the time for another Fourth of July to roll out similar words to those which were rolled out in 1776. Sir, I think this is the time for Faneuil Hall to say not that we will never permit the slave-hunter, or his myrmidons, or his agents, to take up without legal warrant his slave escaped from bondage, but to say that he shall not take him—warrant or no warrant. How many times is the outrage to be repeated before the sons of those who "snuffed oppression in the tainted breeze" are aware of the crisis. Sir, it has been said here to-night, that, when the poor fellow was discovered, all he asked was that it should not be told to the captain till he reached our city of Boston. Boston—there was a magic influence in that word. He had wound in the very chords of his heart the venerated name of that spot, to reach which he thought would be safety. I can sympathize with him, as he goes back over the water. And as, my eye fixed upon that accursed barque which now bears him back to slavery, I stood here to-night and calculated the value of the Union, I said, the Union is nothing to me, compared with the knowledge that it has contributed to send that one sufferer back to bondage. I believe, in solemn truth, that it is the duty of the citizens of Massachusetts to say thus much to our sister states. Let us abjure the Union and stand alone, so that thus we may be free. It is idle to say, now, that this thing and that thing is unconstitutional. *Constitution*,—Mr. President, I abjure the word—there is no constitution in this country, and everybody knows it,—it is a farce. (The speaker was here obliged to pause for some time, in consequence of the shouts and hisses in all parts of the hall.)

We are told, Mr. Chairman, that a foreigner once asked a French-

man where the Salic Law was. Sir, I need not say what he told him—but where will you find the Constitution of the United States? Perchance endorsed on the back of the bill of sale of the first slave that you shall find in South Carolina.

It is not my wish to obtrude my sentiments upon a meeting called for the purpose of passing the resolutions now before them, but this I will say, that the time has come when self-respect, duty to the slave, and duty to God demand of us to announce that, Constitution or no Constitution, law or no law, *humanity* shall be paramount in Massachusetts. Sir, I would that we should no longer be contented, as individuals, to conceal the trembling fugitive who has succeeded in reaching our borders, or to buy back the man, the *sight* of whose misery has roused our pity, but that Massachusetts herself, in her sovereign capacity, should proclaim that no slave-hunter should hereafter set foot on her soil, and proclaim it in a tone so loud that it should reach every hovel in the Carolinas, and make the broken-hearted bondman leap up at the very sound of her name. The State has long enough pledged its physical force on the side of the oppressor—let it now *welcome* the oppressed to its protection. I believe that there does exist, as Mr. Phillips has said, a deep root of anti-slavery feeling in the hearts of the people of this Commonwealth; but, Sir, I cherish that belief as an article of faith, in which I believe without seeing the works corresponding. I cherish it as an article of faith, and I hope that at some time or other, many and tall branches shall grow out of that root. But until that take place, I shall not trust in a public sentiment that is dormant. I am not willing that the law of the country and the statute-book of Massachusetts should leave the soil of this Commonwealth free for the slave-hunter to set his foot upon. While it does, law will never be respected, and the slave will never be safe, even in those rights which your law may try to secure him. Make the law worthy of respect, if you would have it respected. Make a clean statute-book, if you would have an upright people. I hope that time will come, and the only reason why I consent to speak at all is, that I may bear the testimony of many years experience in this cause.

Within two months, a press in this Commonwealth, which commits the sacrilege of styling itself a religious newspaper, dared to say that Frederick Douglass was deceiving the people of England when he told them that *it was not safe* for him to tread the soil of Massachusetts. His reply to that insinuation was worthy of himself—and *this case is the commentary*. This case has tested the anti-slavery sentiment of Massachusetts; and I shall be ready to join my voice in the confident expectations of some of our friends, when I shall hear, not a simple rebuke to a single merchant, but the voice of the People erasing from the Statute-book the odious provisions which made this outrage possible.

Theodore Parker then addressed the meeting as follows:—

There was a time once when your fathers and my fathers assembled here in Faneuil Hall. There was a time when Boston was a small place; and here in Boston a handful of men passed resolutions, in the face of these columns, which shook the whole nation. Their words went abroad,

across the water, and shook the parent land. Yes, they shook the world. But now, sir, when anti-slavery resolutions are passed in this city, they cannot be heard from the North End to the Neck. Whence comes this difference? In old times, men knew that behind every word there was a back-ground of action. Now, men know that when political bodies pass anti-slavery resolutions, they mean nothing; there is no back-ground of action behind them. They are got up for show; they represent nothing; they come out of nothing; they mean nothing—and of course effect nothing.

In 1840, when the Whig procession passed through the streets of this city, a hundred thousand strong, its badges meant something—its symbols and its resolutions meant something. They meant a tariff—they meant dividends—they meant dollars. Sir, the democratic party, great and triumphant in its power, heard those resolutions, and they trembled for fear. Yes, they trembled all over the land, from far away down East even to utmost Oregon; they trembled because they knew that those resolutions would keep, because they knew the Whigs would salt down with deeds every word they uttered.

In 1844, the Baltimore Convention assembled and passed also its resolutions, and the words meant something. They meant a change of tariff—they meant the annexation of Texas—they meant war. And the Whigs, in their turn, trembled and shook in their shoes, because they knew that a back-ground of action was behind every word, and that the Democrats would salt down their sayings, and they would keep.

Well: nothing comes of nought—something of something. Corresponding deeds came after words. The Whigs had their tariff; had their dividends; had their dollars. Deeds also come after Democratic words. The Democrats had their change of tariff; had their annexation, and have got their war.

So much came of action suited to the word. The word meant action.

But when political bodies pass their anti-slavery resolutions—who is there that trembles? The rival party? [A voice—"the *slave-holders!*" another voice—"they are *weak* enough!"] The *slave-holders!* they tremble! Not at all. *Weak* as they are—at the anti-slavery resolutions of political bodies, I don't believe a single slave-holder in the land ever trembles—unless the man is, as they say, "most jolly green!"

Well, sir, what can we *do* in this matter? A more solemn occasion has very seldom wakened the arches of Faneuil Hall with such eloquence as we have heard to-night. Very seldom has this roof looked down upon so many faces shining like fires new-stirred. I trust that you will pass those resolutions. They are good enough, or bad enough—if you don't mean to carry them out. There may be men who desire stronger resolutions, and men that want weaker ones. Let us take these, and stronger, too, if we can get them. But by all means let us *do* something.

[A voice—"The earthquake is coming."]

Well, the earthquake is coming, and let it come. We know where it is coming, and for what. Where is the man who will bring Quincy

granite, and brick from Cambridge, and timber from down East, and on the ground which already heaves and bulges and cracks asunder, build a superstructure which must inevitably be crushed by the earthquake?

When resolutions are not notorious as having a back-ground of action behind them, I care not how many such you pass here in Faneuil Hall. To make resolutions tell, you must do something more. I am glad that my friend suggested a Vigilance Committee—let that committee be established—let it be forty men strong—let them keep that sacred word—"Bewray not him that wandereth." But remember that your fathers were bondmen in the land of the oppressor, and "the Lord brought them forth with an high hand and an outstretched arm, with great terribleness and with signs and wonders!" Tell them to open their houses to every runaway slave; their purses and their hearts, say the laws of Louisiana or this Union what they may.

I know that there is a law, which they make up there in the State House, and can unmake if they will; and that law, in *matters of expediency*, it is very well to follow. In such matters I am willing to yield to that—and count it "supreme." But I know, and you know, that above that, there is a law of God written uopn the universe and copied upon every heart; a law which says thou shalt do to another what thou wouldst gladly receive from him in like cases. When the laws of Louisiana, or Massachusetts, or this Union, conflict with the law of God, there is but one thing that I must do, and that is, KEEP GOD'S LAW.

I know men say "we are citizens of this State, and are pledged to keep its laws." Officers say they have *sworn* to keep the laws of Massachusetts; and they go further and say that THEY HAVE NEVER SWORN TO KEEP GOD'S LAWS. Very true; you are *citizens of Massachusetts*, citizens of the United States—subject to the Laws of Massachusetts and the United States. If you violate them you must expect their penalty. But you are also *citizens of the Universe*, born subject to God's eternal Law. You are men first, then Americans. Have you sworn no oath to keep God's Law? What then—you are none the less bound to keep it. Every bone in my body, every particle of fibre just forming in my blood, is witness of my allegiance to God, of my duty to keep His Law. It transcends and over-rides all the statutes of men. If I violate that, knowingly, wilfully violate that, where am I? Though all the men of Massachusetts, or the Union, or the World stand between me and the Heaven, they cannot screen me from that awful justice of the Most High God! I cannot plead ignorance of the Right! Its witness is in my own heart. If I keep the law of the land that I may violate the eternal law of God, what excuse have I? how shall HE hold me guiltless?

After passing your Resolutions and choosing your Committee of Vigilance, there is another thing you can do. In the coming election, you can make choice of men—not tonguey men—you have had enough of them—but men of deeds, whose words shall be salted down with action, till they will keep forever. We have long enough had men who can make fine resolutions, promise impossible things, and forget them all. Now you want men who will go for God's Law—will go for the Right—come what will come; you want such for your business here at home; you want such for your business further off at Congress. Washington

is said to be "a hot place." Perhaps that is the reason why we of the North send our "Dough-faces" there! For my part, I wish Washington was a great deal hotter than it is, for the men come back just as soft as they went.

The North is not in earnest on this terrible question of Human Rights. Oh, no. Before your faces, before the Judge of hearts, I solemnly say that if that "long, low, black schooner," which recently anchored off Long Island, in New York, should lie off Long Island in Boston harbor, and should take not one man but twenty men, I solemnly believe that neither the Whig party as such, nor the Democratic party as such, would lift their hands. I fear that none of the respectable party newspapers would raise the cry of indignation to rouse the slumbering land. I wish this may not be true. But if I am to judge the future by the past or the present, it is indeed so. We give up to Party what is due to MAN.

I therefore urge it upon you to remember this at your elections; not to choose men who can make resolutions that won't reach to the Neck, but men whose lives show that they can be trusted in times which try men's souls. Remember that it takes a pound to weigh a pound, and if you take a little, mean man and put him in an office high as the top of Bunker Hill monument, he will still be a little fellow—little and mean.

DR. HOWE stated that the Committee had a number of letters from distinguished gentlemen, in answer to the invitation to be present on this occasion, and he read a letter from Governor William Slade of Vermont. This, with the others, which were not read to the meeting on account of the lateness of the hour, will be appended to this report.

The President now being much fatigued, called Mr. Stephen C. Phillips, one of the Vice Presidents, to the Chair.

MR. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS was then called upon the stand, and remarked as follows:—

Mr. Chairman, and Fellow-citizens: Nothing but the call with which you have honored me to-night, could have induced me in this state of my voice, to come forward and say a word. Perhaps, fellow-citizens, you are aware that within the last twenty-four hours, some of us have been trying our voices in this Hall, and mine is not the better for the experiment. But, fellow-citizens, since you have been kind enough to request me to say a word upon this occasion, I can only say to you, that I come forward here to-night, not as a Whig, not as a Democrat, not as a member of any party, but as a MAN. I come forward here to-night, not to discuss questions of law, not to discuss questions of Constitution, not to consider abstract or possible evils, but I come here with a purpose stern and sincere to do all I can as a man to remedy an evil such as we did not suppose could have existed in this community.

Sir, it may be very possible in any community, under the very best government that ever was, that there should be instances of abuse, occasionally of a very gross nature; but, Sir, we have not time nor disposition to inquire how all these things can be remedied in the most effective

manner; our business to-night is to see how we can remedy the precise evil of which we complain. And, Sir, it seems to me that the resolutions upon your table will be likely to have a power in two ways—as emanating from Faneuil Hall; and, secondly, to arrange a system of action which shall prevent any possibility of such an occasion occurring hereafter.

I agree, Sir, with several gentlemen who have spoken before me, in regretting exceedingly that such a letter as that of the captain of the Ottoman, could have found an author in the city of Boston. I regret exceedingly the admission, by a Massachusetts man, that he considered the laws of Louisiana superior to those of Massachusetts. And so far as my humble aid can effect it, I would do all I could to make that captain, and all who may sustain him, know their duty better. We hope to make it the voice of all, that there is neither law, nor reason, nor justice, in their pretences; and, Sir, when we have arrived at this point, I trust there will not be within the limits of Massachusetts, a citizen who will dare to countenance any such act. That, Sir, is the point at which we expect to labor to-night.

But, fellow-citizens, you will perceive, by the effort with which I speak, that I cannot much longer continue my remarks. I therefore beg leave, in closing, simply to say that while, under a simple call upon the citizens of Boston to meet in Faneuil Hall, I see such an assembly as this, animated with the feelings that inspire this assembly, I cannot say that the State is lost:—I cannot say that I despair of the republic when I know that there stand here upon this floor, so many thousands who are ready to sustain the law, justice, and humanity.

Rev. Thomas T. Stone, of Salem, was then called for, and spoke as follows:—

Brethren, as I have stood here this evening, while we have had this case presented to us, that if a lawyer, or a man of any other occupation had been in the position of this slave, the feeling of the entire community would have been aroused, I have connected with it another thought. We denominate ourselves by the name of one, who, a few centuries ago, walked the fields of Judea. Suppose that by some singular concatenation of circumstances, this very individual, (and perhaps his complexion would not have been averse to the supposition,) that *he* had been the slave that was brought here. Suppose that instead of being Joseph, it had been Jesus of Nazareth. Who is there that does not feel the tremendous enormity of the deed? Every heart would have risen with a feeling of instinctive horror. And then I have thought of his own words, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me." It is *Jesus Christ* who has been manacled, and restored to the prison-house of slavery! He has announced it in his own declaration. There is the word, and there it will stand for eternity, and ye who have given your countenance to this act, have given your countenance to the enslavement of Jesus of Nazareth, since he has been doomed to perpetual slavery in the person of the man whom he died to redeem. Call not this irreve-

rence;—if thus you call it, I refer you to his own words. Think of the name he gives himself—the Son of Man. He knows not of complexions, he knows not of the distinctions of nations and races,—he knows of man, and only man.

I feel it by no means inappropriate upon an occasion so solemn as this, to raise your minds to his Father and our Father, and I venture to present to every heart an appeal which cannot be resisted,—Is He not as really the Father of that slave, who has been driven back to bondage, as the Father of the most honored individual present, as the most honored citizen of our country?—Is He not the one Father of all? In his name I speak to you, in his name I call for the freedom, not of this man only, but of every man in the American Union, of every man on the face of the earth, It is the demand of a higher voice, and a higher power, than speaks from Halls of Legislation or from the Judicial Bench. I utter it as a demand from the common Father of all, that every human being be free, that every fetter be broken. Let the voice go forth till it shall be heard beyond the ocean, and echoed to the ends of the whole earth, Freedom! Freedom! Freedom! to the entire race of man.

I rejoiced to hear the grand thoughts, which have been presented to us this evening, on the supremacy of the divine law. I remember that it was declared long ago, "I regard not these laws of tyrannous States, I reverence and obey those unfailing and divine laws, which are not of to-day, nor of yesterday, but whose origin no eye has seen." Their origin is the bosom of God.

I have not time to go into an exposition of the laws of the slavery which exists among us. I will only suppose them to be a perfect combination for the perpetuity of slavery, sustained by States confederate, and by the entire voice of the nation. I then appeal from all Constitutional power to the God who fills this universal temple with the very light and life of freedom, and who has breathed his own spirit of freedom into every living soul. I appeal to the inward oracle; I appeal to the unwritten law which is engraven upon my heart and upon every heart; I appeal to the sacred divinity which stirs in every human soul;—and that oracle, that inward and divine voice, that never failing witness which is speaking from every tongue, and which is beaming from every true and living countenance, let that be honored, let it be worshipped, let it be obeyed.

But I have one thing further to add; it may be painful, but it seems to me that it is a duty to say it before I close. A speaker has said that he was a merchant: would that I had the power and spirit to be a true preacher of Jesus Christ. There is in all institutions, something which produces institutions, and in this community there is a power, which, more than any other single thing, has conduced to the formation and continuance of our institutions, and that is Christianity as presented in the ministrations of its professed teachers. And I ask, Is it possible that here in Massachusetts, an individual should be kidnapped and thrust into a far distant slavery, had the true principles of Christianity been thoroughly proclaimed?

Mr. Stone continued his remarks for some time longer, but there was

so much disturbance in the hall, that it was impossible to obtain a satisfactory report of the remainder.

Mr. G. B. Emerson was now called for, and made the following remarks :—

Fellow-citizens; I had only one single thought to add to the grave considerations that have been presented to you this evening. It seems to me, Sir, that there is one great cause, deeper than the cause of Slavery, below that, Sir; one great cause *of* slavery, and of all the terrible evils which seem to be coming from slavery. It is simply this, Sir. Men congregate together, and although every one standing by himself feels that he has no right to call that wrong which is right, or to call that right which is wrong; yet when they are assembled together, they dare to go up to the altar of God, and say, "We pronounce this wrong, which thou hast declared to be right: we pronounce this right, which thou hast declared to be wrong." The Legislature of Louisiana makes a law—a law in violation of the great truths made known to us from God himself,—and that law is considered as creating right and wrong; so that a citizen of Massachusetts may say, and feel that he has apologized to humanity by saying, "I violate the principles of humanity, I violate all the deep principles of my nature, I violate the law of God; but I do it in obedience to the law of man, to the law of Louisiana. The great thought, Sir, is this. Men suppose, legislators suppose,—I give you the credit, Sir, and I really believe that you never supposed what most men suppose—that they can, by making law, make right and wrong. It is not so. There are laws which God has made, which every heart that beats under God's heaven acknowledges that man is bound to keep, and all the legislators under heaven, congregated together, have no right to pronounce that right, which God has declared to be wrong.

God, sending his son into the world, has declared that all men are equal. He has said to each one of us, and every one of us feels that it is a law of God, "Do ye to others as ye would that they should do to you." But men have laid aside this law, and made a law of their own. And what is the consequence. Here is one consequence. The simple statement of facts, which has already been made, is enough to show the terrible consequence. A man escapes from bondage, to what he believes to be liberty, and comes into this city. He escapes from his concealment on an island, and lands here in South Boston. He believes himself to be free, but on the road between Faneuil Hall and Quincy—between this cradle of Liberty and the spot where Liberty, if anywhere under heaven, has always resided—on the straight road between Faneuil Hall and Quincy, he is siezed and carried off into bondage. There is a simple fact. Nothing that anybody can say speaks so loudly as that simple fact.

Mr. President, I never before made my appearance in this place. I never expected to address a public audience of this kind: but when the area of slavery is so extended that it embraces the road between Faneuil Hall and old Quincy, it is time for every man to attend to it.

The resolutions were then submitted to the assembly, by the Chair, and were adopted, almost unanimously.

A Committeee of Vigilance, consisting of forty, was then nominated by the Chair, who were unanimously elected.

On motion, the thanks of the meeting were presented to John Quincy Adams for attending, and presiding over their deliberations.

The business for which the assembly was convened having been transacted, it was voted to dissolve.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The following answers were received to an official letter, issued by the Committee of Arrangements for the Faneuil Hall meeting. We earnestly recommend their perusal.

MIDDLEBURY, (Vt.) Sept. 21, 1846.

S. G. HOWE, ESQ.:

Dear Sir,—Your letter is just received, inviting me to attend a meeting to be holden at Faneuil Hall, on the 24th of the present month, to consider as to measures proper to be taken in connection with the recent outrage on the rights of a fugitive from bondage, in the city and harbor of Boston. I regret to say that I cannot be with you at the contemplated meeting. If anything could draw me to Boston upon so short a notice, and in the midst of pressing engagements, it would be your call. I had heard of the outrage upon the person of the fugitive; but supposed that the opiate of slavery had taken such deep hold even upon the Massachusetts mind, that I should see no signs of life. I am glad to find myself mistaken. There *is* life; and I hope there may be so much vital energy in your meeting, as to send healthful pulsations to the extremities of New England. We are dying of paralysis, and want a charge from some galvanic battery to rouse and revive us. We have energy enough in certain directions. We need, for example, no galvanism to stimulate, and give power to the graspings for wealth. Our sensibilities are ever alive to the slightest invasion of the rights of property. But where is the corresponding sensibility to personal rights? LIBERTY! How few think of it, as an object of jealous regard, unless their own is invaded. How few have eyes to see in the person of another, and especially in the person of a man with "a skin not colored like their own," a representation in his essential manhood of the human race, in whose freedom every one of the race has an interest, and whose oppression every one should feel as though it were his own! How few hearts promptly respond to the noble sentiment, "I am a MAN; and nothing that concerns MAN can be foreign to me!"—a sentiment which drew forth bursts of rapturous applause, upon its first utterance in a Roman theatre.

Much is said of abolishing slavery at the South, though much less, in my judgement, than there should be; but there is another kind of slavery to be abolished. Your communication to me presents an example of it in the owners of the vessel, whose enslavement to the slave power has led them to approve the act of their commander, in kidnapping, and forcing into hopeless bondage, a MAN, "without the shadow of legal or constitutional right." I hope your meeting will bring out, in bold relief, this kind of slavery, so that its distinctive features may be seen and detested.

The occasion of your meeting will be a fitting one to assert the just rights of the fugitive from slavery, on the soil of New England. It should be known and remembered, that the bare right of the slaveholder to arrest and return his slave, either by himself or a proper officer of the United States, is the utmost limit of power over the panting fugitive, on New England's soil; and that no man may volunteer to aid in the cruel work, without incurring the guilt, and bringing upon himself, in full measure, the punishment, of *man-stealing*. It is quite enough that our soil must be desecrated, our feelings outraged, and our own liberty put in jeopardy *according to law*. To add to the *legal* outrage—submitted to only from a regard to the supremacy of law—the outrage of forcing back the innocent bondman to chains and tortures, by the agency of volunteers, unrecognized by law, and acting from the impulses of mercenary cruelty, is what cannot, must not be submitted to.

The grant in the Constitution of a right to reclaim to bondage the fugitive, struggling and panting for the enjoyment of his "inalienable" rights, was as unjust, as it was inconsistent with the fundamental principle of our government, and unprecedented in the history of the world. I cannot look at this feature of the Constitution, without saying, in the language of Jefferson, that "I tremble when I remember that God is just." There is not a groan of the agonized fugitive, forced back to bondage, under the authority of that Constitution, that does not enter the ears of Him who heareth the sighing of the prisoners, and whose judgements guilty nations must, sooner or later, be made to feel.

It is time that the nation should open its eyes to the true character of this feature in its Constitutional compact, as well as of that other provision which yielded the three-fifths slave representation in Congress. It is now apparent that these concessions to slavery did, in fact, yield up this nation to the dominion of the slave-power, for more than half a century. How much longer it shall continue, is for the freemen of the Free States to determine. Your meeting is one of the struggles to resist that dominion; and I hope it will be conducted in a spirit worthy the best days of Massachusetts—the spirit of men who know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain them.

I am, very faithfully and truly, yours,

WILLIAM SLADE.

PETERBORO', Sept. 22, 1846.

S. G. HOWE, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements:

Dear Sir,—I this hour receive your circular letter. Your meeting is to be held day after to-morrow. Bodily infirmities forbid my attending it. If, however, I write by the mail, which leaves in a few minutes, you may get my letter by the time of the meeting.

My heart bleeds, at one moment, for my poor brother, who has been re-plunged into slavery. At another, it swells with indignation towards the system of which he is the victim, and towards all, whether Northerners or Southerners, who are guilty of upholding it. At another moment, my heart indulges a faint hope, that the outrage which is the occasion of your meeting may contribute largely to the overthrow of this murderous and infernal system. I say, it is a *faint* hope. How, in the light of the past, can it be other than a *faint* hope? The Latimer case aroused Massachusetts for a moment. So did the annexation of Texas. So did the insults to the Commissioners whom she sent to the South. And she has started up indignantly, almost as often as she has been "cuffed and kicked" by the slave power. But her indignation has soon expired. She has awakened to her degradation, only to fall asleep again. Even when her free citizens have been reduced to slavery, her murmurs have begun to die away, almost as soon as they began to swell.

I confess that I expect it will be no better now. Your meeting will be held. Glorious old Faneuil Hall will not contain the thousands, who will flock to it. Burning speeches will be made. All Massachusetts will be wrought up to an anti-slavery tempest. But it will be a tempest of words only. *Vox et præterea nihil.* In a few weeks she will be as calm, as if not a ripple had ever been raised upon her peaceful bosom. I say that I expect nothing better. I do, indeed, *hope* for something better. But I repeat it, my hope is *faint.*

And why is it, that all these favoring providences, which God clusters upon Massachusetts, as if to reward her for her former devotion to liberty,—why is it, I say, that they should all be lost upon her? It is because she does not suffer herself to be led by them to form definite and effective purposes. Had she been led by them to the adoption of the steadfast resolution *never again to vote for a slave-holder, or for any man who is in political fellowship with slave-holders*, American slavery, now so rampant in the presence of Massachusetts cowardice, would, ere this, have been writhing and dying before her bravery.

Another of these favoring providences has just now been given to Massachusetts. Oh, that a heart to improve it, might also be given to her! How memorable through all coming time would be the approaching meeting,—how dear to all true hearts, were that meeting, composed, as it will be, of men of all parties, to resolve that, now, Massachusetts will prove herself to be in earnest in her anti-slavery,—that now, after so long a time, her anti-slavery shall be seen, not in words only, but in actions also! May God, of His infinite goodness, move your meeting to resolve, unanimously and heartily, to refrain, forever, and in all circum-

stances, from casting votes for slave-holders, or for those who are in political fellowship with them! May He also move you to resolve to raise forthwith a fund of ten or twenty thousand dollars, to enable you to send out, without delay, all over New England and the North, including Ohio and Pennsylvania, a host of mighty and eloquent men, who shall, under the Divine blessing, be able to move their hundreds of thousands of hearers, to resolve on NO VOTING FOR SLAVE-HOLDERS, OR FOR THOSE WHO ARE IN POLITICAL FELLOWSHIP WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS!

Is all this too much to hope for from your meeting? I will, for this moment, hope for it, if only that for this moment I may be most happy. Who knows but the meeting may prove itself capable of all this? If it should, then draw on me for one of the ten or twenty thousand dollars.

God forbid, that this new outrage of the slave-power on the soil of Massachusetts, should result in no good to the cause of liberty? But, it surely will not result in good to that cause, if your meeting shall not be enough in earnest in its anti-slavery, to burst its pro-slavery political bands, and to crucify itself to party, for the sake of the slave.

The mail waits. My heart is still full,—but I must break off.

Your friend and brother,

GERRIT SMITH.

LENOX, Sept. 22, 1846.

S. G. HOWE, ESQ.:

My Dear Sir,—I was absent from home when your letter arrived inviting me to a public meeting at Faneuil Hall, on Thursday next, and I have had no opportunity to acknowledge it till to-day. It is not in my power to be present at that meeting. You request me, if I cannot attend, to express my views in relation to it.

I am sorry that I am not informed of what passed at the preliminary meeting, that I might be the better enabled to form a judgement respecting it. Every public demonstration of this kind has some reference to ulterior measures, and is so connected with the previous public proceedings of Massachusetts, that it is indeed a matter of great difficulty to say what is wise, and what is not wise, on any particular occasion. For instance, with the little light I have upon this subject, it would have seemed to me most judicious, in this instance, to have left the person directly complained of, in the hands of the Law. He is charged in the circular, substantially, with *volunteering* his services, and using *force* to send back a helpless fellow creature into slavery, who had been guilty of no crime; and it is said that his employers justify the act.

The act charged is so monstrous, and the justification of such an act, by citizens of Massachusetts, is so incomprehensible, that it seems to me it should have been investigated and passed upon with the calmness and sanctity of a judicial proceeding.

It is impossible, I think, for any person who has noticed the struggle,

and watched the progress of the slave-power in this country for the last few years, to avoid the melancholy conclusion, that the people of Massachusetts have latterly, to some extent, and more than ever before, given their consent to it.

Ever since the solemn warning that Mr. Adams and other members of Congress gave to the North of the projected annexation of Texas, for the purpose of increasing slave territory, the resistance to this monstrous project, on the part of Massachusetts, has become less and less, until the power of the slave-holders has been frightfully extended and secured, almost without remonstrance or complaint, on the part of our citizens. What is wanted now, is unanimity of feeling among our people; and what I fear, is, that an attempt to produce it on this occasion, will end as other attempts have done;—that the spirit and interests of trade and politics will get the upper hand, and leave us still farther behind our ancient faith and practice as friends of freedom and humanity.

If it were possible, on any occasion, or in any way, to touch the heart of Massachusetts, to awaken the whole people, and induce them to act together as haters of tyranny in every form—consenting to no oppression, but joining to resist and remove it, whenever and wherever God shall give them the ability and the right to act, I shall be too happy. The next bitter cup will be California. Are we prepared to drink it? Ohio says no. *Perhaps* Massachusetts will join her.

I have answered your letter, my dear sir, from personal respect and because you request it, not because I attach any importance to what I have written, or to any thing I could write, where my information on the whole subject is so imperfect as it is at present.

I am, very truly and respectfully,

Your friend and servant,

CHS. SEDGWICK.

P. S. There is another reason why I should individually prefer a public prosecution in this case, to a public meeting. The slave placed the master of the vessel in a difficult position without his consent. This will excite some sympathy for the master with many persons who would never think of justifying his subsequent conduct. The cases for public animadversion have been, and will be numerous enough, where the wrong will be admitted to be all on one side, and where shame must universally and eternally follow the conviction of the truth. In this case, I think the slave was right and the master wrong; but how many will think that the poor fellow ought to be strung up for putting a restriction upon trade.

The more I think of it, the more it seems to me that the conduct of the master is so shocking, that he ought to have all the *benefit* of *counsel* in a legal prosecution.

CONCORD, September 23, 1846.

DR. S. G. HOWE, and Associates of the Committee of Citizens:

If I could do or say any thing useful or equal to the occasion, I would not fail to attend the meeting on Thursday. I feel the irreparable shame to Boston of this abduction. I hope it is not possible that the city will make the act its own, by any color or justification. Our State has suffered many disgraces, of late years, to spoil our pride in it, but never any so flagrant as this, if the people of the Commonwealth can be brought to be accomplices in this crime,—which, I assure myself, will never be. I hope it is not only not to be sustained by the mercantile body, but not even by the smallest portion of that class. If the merchants tolerate this crime,—as nothing will be too bad for their desert, —so it is very certain they will have the ignominy very faithfully put to their lips. The question you now propose, is a good test of the honesty and manliness of our commerce. If it shall turn out, as desponding men say, that our people do not really care whether Boston is a slave-port or not, provided our trade thrives, then we may, at least, cease to dread hard times and ruin. It is high time our bad wealth came to an end. I am sure, I shall very cheerfully take my share of suffering in the ruin of such a prosperity, and shall very willingly turn to the mountains to chop wood, and seek to find for myself and my children labors compatible with freedom and honor.

With this feeling, I am proportionably grateful to Mr. Adams and yourselves, for undertaking the office of putting the question to our people, whether they will make this cruelty theirs? and of giving them an opportunity of clearing the population from the stain of this crime, and of securing mankind from the repetition of it, in this quarter, forever.

Respectfully and thankfully,

Your obedient servant,

R. W. EMERSON.

AUBURN, September 21, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR:—

I have been not inattentive to the transaction upon which you animadvert, with such just severity, in your letter of the sixteenth instant. Nor can I doubt that it is a just occasion for such an expression of the honest indignation of freemen, as is contemplated in the call of the public meeting at Faneuil Hall. I should rejoice to witness a scene so proper in that consecrated Fabric, and more especially, since it is to be sanctioned by the name and presence of John Quincy Adams. His name lends dignity, and his presence imparts the deepest interest to

every event with which they are associated. But, I have inflexible engagements here.

With many thanks for the honor of your invitation, and sincere sympathy in your efforts in the cause of humanity,

I remain, very respectfully,

Your humble servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

S. G. Howe, Esq., Chairman of Committee of Arrangements.

Woolwich, Sept. 21, 1846.

Dear Sir:—

Your official letter of the 16th, communicating a kind request that I would attend a meeting at Faneuil Hall on the 24th instant, called to consider what can, or should be done in regard to the cruel and wanton outrage committed on the person and rights of a *man, our fellow*, by a captain of one of your vessels, was received at the moment of my leaving Portland to attend a term of our S. J. Court at Wiscasset. The fact of this, my necessary absence, prevents me from complying with the request. This I exceedingly regret, as otherwise I should deem it my imperative duty to attend the meeting, and by my presence, at least, to unite in a solemn protest, of the superlatively wicked and wanton act of this sea captain, who I hope inherits not one drop of the blood of our pilgrim ancestors. His cruelty shames even that of the wolf and hyena.

I can conceive of no lower link in the descending chain of human depravity, than that to which this—I hope not—son of New England, has let himself down in his descent to the abode of devils damned. But, after all, it is the legitimate result of that inordinate love of gain, which is the peculiar characteristic, master passion, of the American people, and particularly of my loved New England. Yes! *this ruling passion*, of which commercial cupidity is only one development, seems to me well nigh to have extinguished national honor, national faith, national justice, and individual humanity, and changed this people into a nation of *robbers* and assassins, whose tyrannical, blood-stained, heaven-defying character is unrelieved by any such generous acts as have sometimes marked that of the common bandit, and occasionally roused a sympathy for the pick-pocket.

Should this act of atrocity surprise us in an individual, while as a nation we have planted the iron heel of oppression on the necks of three millions of just such victims as this merciless rascal of a sea captain has robbed of his rights? Should we wonder at this act of individual robbery while we look at the robbery of the noble Indians, of their inheritance, mainly to perpetuate slavery?—while, as a nation, we are at this moment, robbing a feeble nation of her territory, and murdering her defenceless citizens, to do to millions what this vile miscreant has

done to a solitary individual?—while we consent to, and aid in elevating to the highest offices in the gift of the people, those men, who are inflicting on hundreds and thousands, precisely what this Capt. ——, (I have not his name before me,) has done to one? My astonishment is, that the atrocious act has not already brought him forward as a candidate for some high public office.

If our souls are harrowed up, as well they may be, at this individual outrage, how ought we to feel and to act in its multiplication three millions of times, not by an individual but by the power of a whole nation.

I would not say any thing which might be calculated to lessen the detestation which may be felt by those who may meet on this great occasion, for this dastardly, as well as atrocious crime of this sea captain. No! if law be of any value, let him feel its penalty. Let public indignation, at least, flash in the face of every such vile miscreant? But, I would to God, the fact, which has been the occasion of the gathering, might open the eyes of all the people to the infinitely more aggravated fact, that hitherto they have been united in committing three millions of deeds equally criminal in the sight of a just God, if not emphatically condemned by the laws of *men*.

But of such illimitable magnitude has this sin of slavery become, that the human mind seems incapable of grasping it. I rejoice that it can seize hold of and partially comprehend this solitary case.

May the American mind, fostered by humanity, and stimulated by such individual acts, soon expand to such dimensions as to enable it successfully to seize upon and grapple with, and utterly demolish that system of human slavery, of which the case to be considered is one of its legitimate results; and which, horrible as it is, is by no means the most diabolical.

My heart will be with the Convention, while

I remain the friend of the slave,

And the Committee's grateful and humble servant,

SAMUEL FESSENDEN.

Mr. S. G. Howe, Chairman, &c.

Westminster, Sept. 25, 1846.

Sir:—

Having been absent from home, I did not receive your invitation to attend your meeting at Faneuil Hall on the 24th, until that evening. The case set forth in your circular is well calculated to excite public indignation. I should have been pleased to be with you, but could not. It is time that we knew our rights on the subject of slavery, and knowing them, should be found willing to stand by them.

I am, sir, respectfully, your ob't servant,

C. HUDSON.

S. G. Howe, Esq.

LETTERS OF MESSRS. HANNUM AND PEARSON.

We present the following letters by Capt. Hannum and Mr. Pearson, as illustrative of the case, and as they will be important to the future history of slavery in Massachusetts. The extraordinary nature of their contents is such that they need no comments from the Committee.

BOSTON, Sept. 16, 1846.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOSTON POST:

Certain inflammatory articles, with lavish abuse of my employers and myself, first made me aware of the existence of the "Chronotype."

The authors of the above were doubtless persons unconnected with commerce—ignorant of the liabilities of shipmasters—intent only upon carrying out their own selfish, narrow minded principles, regardless of the means employed.

The following are some of the particulars of the late slave case:—On the morning of his discovery, (August 14th,) I gave him to understand that he must be sent back by the first vessel; and for this purpose had a frequent look-out at the mast head. Not being successful in meeting a vessel bound out to New Orleans, I left him in the lower harbor on my arrival, while I came to the city for advice. Messrs. Pearson & Co., (as I believe) with motives of the purest justice, decided that he must go back—and back he has gone; but he has not been "sent away empty." He received many presents in money and clothing from my friends who visited me while in the harbor, and from the time of his discovery till his re-shipment, he lived and fared as I did myself. Were it necessary I could produce many witnesses who saw and conversed with him, to prove that he expressed his regret that he absconded from me—that he was willing to abide by my decision and return to his master. As for that motley crew of whites and blacks who crowded the deck of the "Lincoln," and hailed me in the "Vision," with cries of "Run him down," "Fire into him"—I doubt if there is one of them who would be more rejoiced to see a slave set free, or the whole institution of slavery, with its thousand curses, tumbled to the dust, than the "kidnapper captain" whom they were so intent upon persecuting. It is such wild proceedings as these, and clandestinely bringing slaves to liberty, that forges still stronger the fetters of slavery at the south and keeps alive that spirit of enmity between us and our southern brethren.

I think they accuse me of mercenary motives, which is the most absurd of all their charges.

If they will look at some of the New Orleans papers they will learn the amount of the reward, and can then judge how much of an inducement it would be to absent myself from home and all its domestic enjoyments for four days, after an absence of three months. Furthermore, the captain who takes him to New Orleans is directed to take no reward, but to plead earnestly for the slave for release from punishment.

In my letter to the master, now in possession of the slave, I have stated that, in sending him back, I sacrifice feelings of humanity and private principles to the laws of the State, and solicit in return a mitigation of punishment for the unfortunate offender.

The master, no doubt, would rather never see the slave, if he could secure me or the Ottoman. He could then place a high value upon him, which I should be compelled to pay, and then comes fine and imprisonment to satisfy the offended law of Louisiana.

I will say no more. To the hands of my brother shipmasters—the press—the public, abolitionists and all—I leave the subject for their consideration.

JAS. W. HANNUM,
Master brig Ottoman.

To the Editor of the Boston Journal:

On perusal of a late number of the Journal, (Sept. 12th) I there find that my recent difficulties have been justly and impartially considered. For this, gentlemen, my thanks are due. I will not enter into the details of the "slave case." They are well known to my many friends, who are fully aware of the justice of my intentions. With my enemies, I wish not to provoke a needless controversy. The only one of their abusive charges that I wish to refute, is that of falsely accusing the fugitive with theft. This is erroneous,—the accusation was just; for my coat, containing a pocket-book and other small articles, were in his possession at the time of his escape, and given up after he was retaken.

Very respectfully, yours,
JAMES W. HANNUM.

Compare the preceding with the two following, taken from the New Orleans Picayune, and evidently written for a Southern public opinion, and then judge of Capt. Hannum's sincerity.

Boston, Sept. 11, 1846.

Editors of the Picayune:—

In my own native city, a refugee from the fury of the abolitionists, I address you on a grave subject, though it has placed me in the midst of many a comical and ludicrous scene.

I cleared at your port on the 9th, and sailed on the 10th of August, in command of the brig Ottoman, for Boston. Seven days out, a mu-

latto slave was found secreted in the fore peak ; I kept a look-out at the mast-head, in the hope of finding some vessel by which to send him back, but unfortunately did not succeed ; kept on my way, and arrived off Boston light at 2 on the morning of the 7th. Here I placed the runaway on board of a pilot-boat for safe keeping till 4, A. M., the next day, when I arrived from town according to agreement, and took the darkey in my boat, which contained, beside myself, a trusty friend, a boy of sixteen, and a boatman. Agreeable to arrangements in town, I was to await the bark Niagara, to sail next day for New Orleans. That night an easterly gale commenced, and next day no Niagara came. Unable to weather it any longer in the lower harbor, I kept her away for Spectacle Island. There, as ill-luck would have it, while taking "a drop of consolation" at the hotel, the negro gave me the slip, and with the boat made sail for South Boston Point ; post haste we followed in another boat, but he landed about ten minutes ahead. We took after him, through corn-fields and over fences, till finally, after a chase of two miles, I secured him just as he reached the bridge. Accusing him of theft, I marched him, arm in arm, towards the Point, followed by a crowd of men and boys—a friend came up with a team, when I drove to the Point, and we took to our boats and were off.

The news of the escape and capture spread through the city—officers were despatched in all directions—$100 reward was offered for the "kidnapper-captain and pirate-boat Warren." That night we lay at anchor under Lovell's Island—the easterly blow continued—we dared not venture farther out. Next morning our case was desperate. Out of water and provisions, I beat down to the outer island in the harbor, (an uninhabited pile of barren rocks,) landed with the darkey and boy, and sent my companions to town for supplies and another boat, while we remained hid in the gullies of the rocks. They returned at night with the "Vision," the fastest sailer in the bay, and took us off. So hotly were they pursued in town, that the only refreshments they were enabled to obtain were gin and crackers, and on these we subsisted during the remainder of the expedition We now stood for sea, and waited for the Niagara till 2, P. M., the next day, (the 12th,) when she came out in tow of a steamer. I put him on board as the steamer left, giving Capt. Rea letters explanatory of the whole affair. No sooner had I left the bark than I discovered a steamer making directly for us. Knowing she could chase but one, I steered a course opposite to the Niagara till the steamer came up and ordered me to heave to ; this for some time I refused to do, wishing to delay them as long as possible, in order to give the Niagara a chance to get clear. Bayonets glistened in all parts of the boat ; darkies were there of every hue, crying out, "Run him down," "Fire into him," &c. After this was hushed, and I had brought them to terms of civility, I hove to, and received on board two officers, who examined the craft ; not finding the object of their search, they went on board the steamer and put off for the bark ; but they had wasted too much time with me—the Niagara was well out to sea, with a fine breeze. The abolitionists, after chasing her a few miles, became sea-sick, and commenced casting up their accounts ; the balance were in favor of returning home, and back they went, to wreak

their vengeance on your humble servant—humble enough, God knows, though elevated to garret life.

Stigmatized as a slave-stealer at the South—branded as a kidnapper at the North—my situation is anything but enviable. The journals here are bitter against me, and accuse me of interested motives. On the contrary, with a hundred dollars reward against me, I have been obliged to spend a like sum in order to re-ship the negro to his master. Mr. John H. Pearson, Esq., a merchant of this city, well known for his integrity, is the owner of the Niagara and Ottoman, and sanctions my proceedings. This is my lengthy story; lay it before your readers, that they may may know we are not all abolitionists, and that the reputation of our beautiful city may not suffer through their disgraceful proceedings. Very respectfully, yours, gentlemen,

JAMES W. HANNUM,
Master brig Ottoman.

Capt. Hannum.—The following letter best explains the unfortunate position of Capt. Hannum, of the brig Ottoman. For his exertions to avoid the penalty inflicted by the law of this State for carrying off a slave, and for restoring to his owner a runaway from this State, he is now incarcerated in Boston. His case appeals warmly to the sympathies of the South. (Ed. of Picayune.)

Boston, September 22, 1846.

Editors of the Picayune:—

Sorely hunted and tracked by those cursed blood-hounds, the abolitionists, I give you my last communication previous to taking up my quarters in Leverett street jail. The one-sided position in which I am placed, with a political party headed by an eminent lawyer to contend with, may be easily imagined. The felonious charge of "kidnapping," they are determined to sustain at any cost. The daily papers of the city, with one or two exceptions, have not ventured to advance a single sentiment in my favor.

And all this row and excitement about a vagabond drunken negro. This! for offending the enemies of our Union, in order to comply with the laws of a sister State. Talk of justice. She is not here. She emigrated South long ago; and to the South I must appeal to save me from fine and imprisonment.

In your hands, gentlemen, I leave the subject, feeling certain that you will not fail to place the matter before the citizens of Louisiana in its true and proper light. In this remains my only hope.

Communications may be addressed to the care of J. H. P. & Co., 75 Long Wharf, Boston.

Very respectfully, yours,
JAMES W. HANNUM,
Late Master of the brig Ottoman.

The following appeared in the Boston Courier of Oct. 15th. We believe that Mr. Pearson will ere long regret that he ever wrote it:—

Boston, 14th October, 1846.

Hon. S. C. Phillips, Salem:—

Dear Sir,—In your remarks made in Faneuil Hall, on the 24th ultimo, you stated "there was not another merchant in Boston who would have advised or countenanced in sending back the slave who had secreted himself on board the brig Ottoman, and that you considered the act worse than piracy." This is making strong assertions, and I do not like for any person to make such, when I have almost universally been justified by any act or advice I have done or given Capt. Hannum, which was this—On his arrival, he stated that he found secreted on board his vessel, a slave, and unless he was sent back to his owner he could never return to New Orleans, without being imprisoned from *two* to *ten* years, and fined the value of the slave. Knowing with what strictness the slave States enforce their laws, in respect to the taking away this species of property, and rather than Capt. Hannum should incur the penalty of a southern *prison*, I unhesitatingly replied, "I know of no other alternative but to send him back to his owner." He left me to find a vessel to take him back, and I have not seen him from that day to the present. On the day the slave was reported on shore, I was absent from the city, and all the doings since I gather from the papers and street gossip. I only hope he will be *safely returned to his owner*, for I consider the free States have no right to succor the runaway slave, unless you trample the Constitution of the United States under your feet, and make it a dead letter.

What does it amount towards freeing the slave, to succor the few runaways that may secrete themselves on board our northern ships, laying the captains liable to imprisonment and our vessels to seizure, to pay for them. There is no philanthropy held out towards our shipmasters who may be innocently caught with a secreted slave; but it is very philanthropic to *steal* the property of our southern neighbors, and have our white citizens imprisoned in exchange. I do not envy your feelings, to promulgate such a creed. But to return to your remarks, "that I am the only person who would have advised 'sending the slave back"—if you will do me the favor to be on 'Change, any day, from half-past one to two o'clock, I will take the voice of those assembled, to ascertain if I am the only one. If I mistake not, you will find the response of *five* to *one*, that they *would have done likewise, placed in a similar situation.* Until you do do this, or make some other demonstration of your error, I shall consider you a *libeller.*

I am, respectfully,

JNO. H. PEARSON.

COMMITTEE OF VIGILANCE,

AND ITS DOINGS.

The Committee appointed at the Faneuil Hall Meeting was composed of the following gentlemen:—

SAMUEL G. HOWE,	WALTER CHANNING,
ELLIS GRAY LORING,	A. B. PHELPS,
CHARLES SUMNER,	S. S. CURTIS,
J. A. ANDREW,	JOSEPH SOUTHWICK,
SAMUEL MAY,	BENJAMIN WEEDEN,
FRANCIS JACKSON,	A. C. SPOONER,
HENRY B. STANTON,	AMOS B. MERRILL,
J. B. SMITH,	CHARLES F. HOVEY,
SAMUEL E. SEWALL,	S. E. BRACKETT,
JOHN G. KING,	J. W. BROWNE,
JOHN L. EMMONS,	CORNELIUS BRAMHALL,
THEODORE PARKER,	WENDELL PHILLIPS,
RICHARD HILDRETH,	HENRY I. BOWDITCH,
JOHN A. INNIS, (Salem,)	T. T. BOUVE,
JAMES T. FISHER,	JAMES N. BUFFUM, (Lynn.)
WILLIAM F. WELD,	GEORGE W. BOND,
WILLIAM C. NELL,	WILLIAM F. CHANNING,
WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH,	JAMES F. CLARKE,
ROBERT MORRIS, JR.	GEORGE DODGE,
ANSON J. STONE,	HENRY JAMES PRENTISS.

Messrs. W. Phillips, Phelps and Bramhall declined acting.

The Committee met September 30th, 1846, and organized by chosing Samuel G. Howe, Chairman, and Henry I. Bowditch, Secretary, and the following sub-committees :—

Executive Committee,—Samuel G. Howe, John W. Browne, Henry I. Bowditch, John G. King and William F. Channing.

Committee of Finance,—John A. Andrew, George W. Bond, T. T. Bouvè, James T. Fisher, Henry I. Bowditch.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee, John W. Browne, (No. 9, Court St.) was chosen General Agent; and he was directed "to offer a REWARD OF ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS to be paid to the person who shall give the earliest information concerning any alleged slave, held secreted here for the purpose of being carried away against his will."

2d. It was voted "that every one who shall have endeavored to give the earliest information and to render aid, shall be paid for his service what it shall be fairly worth, to which also a further sum in the way of reward, shall be added according to the circumstances."

By a vote of the General Committee, (Sept. 30,) the Committee on Finance was directed to take measures for the immediate raising of the sum of ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS as a fund for the general purposes for which the Committee was appointed.

NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR FREEDOM.

It is hoped that this suggestion, made at the termination of the Address, will meet with responsive hearts throughout the whole extent of our Union—so that the day may soon come when all the Friends of Man may form One Sacred Alliance of the Free. In furtherance of this holy object, the Committee request counsel from all the True-Hearted.

RESULT OF THE CASE BEFORE THE GRAND JURY.

Since the foregoing documents were printed, the result of the inquiry of the Grand Jury in regard to Capt. Hannum has been made public. Immediately after their appointment, the Vigilance Committee took measures to collect the evidence in the case. One of their number was employed for several days in the performance of this duty. A perfect chain of evidence, as it seemed to the Committee, was obtained, so that they were justified in laying the case before the Grand Jury. The first application was met by the statement, that that body had already too much business on hand, and could not attend to the matter. Early in this month, the subject was again brought forward, and it is now given out that the Grand Jury say that there is not evidence enough to warrant them in presenting Capt. Hannum for trial, on the charge of kidnapping this man from our soil. The Committee must submit, however much they may question the justice of the conclusion to which the Jury has arrived. It is evident that the question of personal liberty, at least in the case of a colored man, is considered of little moment in Massachusetts.

The following is a sketch of the evidence, as collected by the Committee:—

James Norris, steward of the Ottoman, and *John Smith*, seaman, knew the circumstances under which the mulatto, George, was found concealed on board the Ottoman, when about a week out from New Orleans. On the arrival of the Ottoman near Boston Light, John Smith, then at the wheel, saw the mulatto, by Hannum's orders, go on board a pilot boat and leave the vessel. This was at night, towards morning.

John Matthews, steward of the pilot boat Sylph, in charge of pilot Fowler, on awaking on the morning of Tuesday Sept, 8th, found the mulatto on board. The Sylph was just outside of Boston Light, where she remained during the day. Pilot Phillips, in the course of the day,

came on board and advised to let the mulatto go; but Fowler said he had promised Hannum to keep him till evening. In the evening, Hannum came down in another boat, with three men, and took the mulatto on board. Hannum said he meant to send him back in a barque of Pearson's to come down by the first wind. He landed with the mulatto at Light House Island.

William C. Reed, resident on Spectacle Island, saw, on Wednesday morning, Sept. 9th, the boat Warren come to that island, from below. On board was Hannum, the mulatto, a boy, and two others. They said they had been down fishing, were caught in a squall, and spent the night at Light House Island. About noon, the mulatto contrived to get on board the Warren, which lay at the wharf, and set sail for South Boston. Hannum and his gang took Reed's boat, which lay at the wharf, and pursued. In about two hours the boats returned. The Warren kept off in the channel, near the island, but one of the men, who came on shore, said the mulatto was in her, and was a runaway slave whom Hannum was going to send back. Thereupon Reed took his boat and came to Boston, to give information to the Police. The Warren left Spectacle Island about the same time, and Reed watched her till she landed at Point Shirley.

Wm. G. Reed, carpenter, South Boston—*Mrs. Sarah Laforme*, 2d st., South Boston—*Henry Leonard*, do.—*Daniel McGowen*, corner of Turnpike st. and Broadway—*Charles G. Cutter*, 11 and 12 Turnpike st. —*John Fenno, Jr.* of the South Boston Hotel, and *James Topliff*, a boarder at the Hotel, were able to detail the whole circumstances of the capture of the mulatto at South Boston by Hannum and his gang, under pretence that he was a thief—the placing him in a wagon and carrying him to South Boston Point, and putting him on board the Warren.

Pratt and *Andrews*, constables, during the ineffectual pursuit of the Niagara on Friday, Sept. 11th, boarded the Vision, (pilot boat) on which they found Hannum and his gang. He (Hannum) said he had brought the man on in the Ottoman—had now got rid of him, and was glad of it, but that he did not go in the Niagara.

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